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33. BYZANTINE IDEAL OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

WE have now dealt at some length with Anna Comnena as an educated woman. It remains to consider her as a historian, and in order to do that we must begin with her own ideal of Historiography.

We have already said that classical writers approved stereotyped forms for beginnings and endings, and nowhere is this truer than in the Prologues of historical works. Over and over again historians try to impress on the reader in a stately introduction their sense that Truth is their ideal and that such composition must not be lightly and unadvisedly taken in hand. Herodotus writes his history in order that the deeds of men may not be effaced by time nor remain unsung.¹ Thucydides, after deploring the carelessness of men in searching for facts and weighing evidence, and their taste for tales that 'please the ear' rather than tell the truth, says: 'I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one . . . and very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear.'² Polybius does indeed begin by stating³ that the advantages derived from writing and studying history are too well known to need recounting, but very shortly afterwards⁴ we find him elaborating the theme that the duty of an historian is to be impartial, in a passage which Anna copies without acknowledgement.⁵ Again later he defines the province of poets as being to move their readers, but that of historians to instruct them through the truth.⁶ Diodorus Siculus occupies his first two chapters with a lengthy defence of his profession, reminding us of the first two of Anna's Preface.⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus lays down as the two inevitable preoccupations of a historian, first the choice of a worthy subject, secondly the skilful

¹ *Hist.* I, Pref.

² *Hist.* I. 22. So nearly one thousand years later John of Epiphania (*Hist. Gr. min.* I, p. 376) writes as a duty, because he was an eyewitness of the war with Persia.

³ *Hist.* I. 1, 1-3, and again in 35. 9, 10; III. 31; V. 75. 5, 6; XII. 7.

⁴ *Hist.* I. 14.

⁵ Pref. 2, p. 3; cf. p. 205 above.

⁶ *Hist.* II. 56. 11, 12.

⁷ To show how conventional much of this is we may note that whereas he speaks of History making Time 'the guardian of whatever it transmits to those who come after' (*Bibl.* I. 2, 5), Anna, with equal meaning or non-meaning, describes History as a 'strong bulwark against the stream of Time' (Pref. I, p. 1).

treatment of it,¹ and this passage would almost seem to have been in Anna's mind when she dwells on her father's excellences and the care with which she has handled them.² From Dionysius we also gather that the Proems of histories were always supposed to express concern both over the instruction of the ἐπιγινόμενοι (truth in history being to him 'the beginning of learning and wisdom'³) and also over ensuring that the memorials of great men should not 'perish with their bodies'; Anna's Proem does this to a marked degree. She is careful in her choice of a starting-point, 'where the narrative will be plainer and more historical',⁴ just as Polybius dwells on the importance of selecting an ἀρχή known to all without dispute,⁵ and Diodorus feels that readers despise History not based on admitted dates,⁶ while Plutarch is at pains to establish as on a map the boundary-line where legend ends and history begins.⁷ In theory at least Greek historians pursued the Truth, the Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth, and when Isocrates says that the aim of history is not objective truth but profit to the readers, he speaks as a rhetorician, not as a serious critic.⁸

These protestations of veracity and of pursuing a lofty aim can be paralleled far and wide in the Byzantine historians. We have seen how Anna fills her Preface with them.⁹ Her husband, in his, gives a similar account of his objects. He has written partly to please the Empress Irene, and partly because his own feeling towards Alexius was too deep for him to 'pass over his deeds in silence, so that they would perish in the abyss of forgetfulness'; but he is composing neither a History nor an Encomium, only providing a ὕλη ἱστορίας for later biographers.¹⁰

Long before Bryennius' day Theophanes, who wrote in the second decade of the ninth century, had told his readers in the Preface to his *Chronography*, that he reluctantly undertook to continue the work of a friend in spite of his consciousness of ἀμάθεια καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ λόγου. It involved 'searching out and examining many books' of old historiographers and logographers and putting events 'in their own places in regular order'. (Chronology is his obsession.) He hopes to provide for his readers οὐ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν and begs their prayers and indul-

¹ *Antiq. Rom.* I. 1; also *ad Pomp.* 3, 2 (ed. Jacoby, Vol. I, p. 2, and *Opusc.* ed. Usener, Vol. II, p. 232).

² Pref., *passim*.

³ *Antiq. Rom.* I. 2.

⁴ Pref. 4, p. 8.

⁵ *Hist.* I. 5.

⁶ *Bibl.* IV. 1.

⁷ *Thes.* 1.

⁸ E. Stemplinger, *op. cit.* p. 149.

⁹ Cf. also I. 10, p. 23; III. 1, p. 72; 2, p. 74; 8, pp. 90, 91.

¹⁰ *Hyle*, Pref. p. 13. Psellus, we may note, begins his *Chronography* not with a Preface but with a long descriptive Title.

gence in return, *φίλον γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν*. In later days, slightly before Bryennius and Anna wrote, Michael Attaliates produced his History. After a laudatory address to the Emperor Botaniates he opens his narrative with the assertion that History is *χρήσιμον εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τῷ βίῳ*; the lives of the good and the bad alike teach lessons. He himself is busy with military and legal affairs, but he feels bound to write 'so that things worthy of record (*λόγου*) may not, through the passing of time, be buried in the depths of oblivion, but may have an undying memorial'.¹ He aims at setting forth as far as he can the causes of events, and in fact does so on all occasions. Later on² he explains that he does not wish to resemble the servant who hid his lord's talent, but desires in his writing first to preserve the memory of Botaniates, secondly to spur on posterity by that emperor's example.

Coming down to Anna's contemporaries, we find that Zonaras in his Preface defends himself against the sneers of those who consider the pursuit of letters a *πάρεργον*. He has chosen to employ on it his exile from public affairs, partly to atone for his past misdeeds, partly to please his friends by writing an *ἔργον κοινωνοφελές*. (He himself regards a great deal of history as 'most necessary' to be learnt.) They urged him to avoid on the one hand the long descriptions of wars and localities, and the various discussions and orations in which many historians aim at displaying their own learning, and only succeed in wearying their readers; and on the other hand the undue brevity which omits deeds 'worthy to be sung', with all that shows the 'character and nature and intentions' of the persons portrayed. Other writers again make their composition unreadable by *ιδιωτικαῖς λέξεσιν ἢ καὶ βαρβάροις ἐνίοτε*. So Zonaras' friends beg from him a *σύντομον ἱστορίαν*, setting forth only *τὰ καιριώτερα* of all that has happened, and at length his inertia yields to their importunity, largely because he fears that Satan may find some mischief still for idle hands to do. He invites the reader's indulgence towards imperfections, as he has no adequate supply of books, and furthermore authorities often disagree, so that to enumerate every one of the contrary opinions would be tedious.

Cedrenus³ at the outset gives an elaborate account of his motives in writing:

¹ *Hist.*, opening paragraph, p. 8. None of the Byzantines seem to share the lofty sentiment of Sir Thos. Browne in his *Urne Buriall* about men dead and gone: 'The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man.'

² p. 322.

³ pp. 1, 2. He wrote under Alexius I, and brings his work down to 1057, copying Scylitzes (who we may note carries his history to 1079) textually.

'Many men before us, lovers of God and lovers of history, have laboured at the epitomizing of history. . . . But they failed in accuracy. . . . For each put forward his own subject, one for instance the praise of an emperor, one the blame of a patriarch, another the eulogy of a friend. . . . I, having gone through the books of these men, collected suitable material, adding also what I had learnt unwritten from men of old.'

He left his work 'to posterity as a delicate food', first to act as a reminder to those who have read the books of other historians, because neglect brings oblivion 'obscuring and confounding the memory of deeds', secondly to be a *ὁδηγός* to those who have not read them.¹

Glycas, who as is usual in such a work begins his chronicle with the creation of the world, prefaces it by saying he means to indite a 'short writing', adding: 'for I know that if a discourse is extended to great length it greatly burdens the hearing'.² He also implies that whereas the aim of other chroniclers is to win honour for themselves, he is only thinking of the instruction of his son, addressed as 'my dearest child'.

Cinnamus, also under Manuel I, follows the old models when he begins: 'In no wise was the task of history held inglorious by the wise men of old. Nay, it fell to the lot of most of them actually to gain honour thereby . . . and because all things that occurred in course of time were in danger of being again lost from sight, they handed them down to the coming age by engraving them in books as on imperishable pillars.' Though Cinnamus is conscious of not having enough knowledge or leisure for his task, yet 'not on that account must the affairs which came about in our age be altogether passed over in silence'.³

Similarly Nicetas Acominatus, who saw the fall of Constantinople in 1204, has his clear theory of history-writing. 'I thought it not right to pass by in silence things worthy to be remembered and set forth, so great in number and so important. Therefore through this my writing I put them down plainly for those who come after.' He thinks it right that History should pillory vice, and its *τέλος σκοπιμώτατον* is Truth, but the language must be

¹ So the sixth-century John of Epiphania (see p. 225, note 2, above) says he will begin with a brief outline of the facts, to be a reminder to those who know and a starting-point of information for those who do not.

² *Bibl. Chron.* I, p. 1, written under Manuel I (1143-80). He may be thinking of Zonaras and the latter's lengthy eighteen books (from which he himself freely borrowed), written in spite of the author's professed dread of verbosity.

³ *Hist. I.* 1, pp. 1, 2.

simple (more so than is popular with historians) because it has to appeal to workmen and soldiers and women.¹

The family likeness between all these preambles speaks for itself. The Byzantine who began to write a history or a chronicle² felt that he was entering on a solemn and exalted task, a duty owed to the dead, and still more a service to be rendered to the living. So it behoved him to be lucid and interesting and instructive, but above all truthful.³ Whatever lapses from the truth Byzantine historians may have made in practice, in theory it was their one and only goal. The seventeenth-century French writers, of whom it has been said⁴ that 'their purpose was most commonly political or moral instruction, and the presentment of historic fact was always quite subsidiary', would have shocked Anna Comnena⁵ quite as much as they do the history student of to-day.

34. ORAL AND WRITTEN SOURCES

IN this pursuit of truth it was customary for classical authors to appeal, when their personal knowledge ended, to eyewitnesses or to common opinion,⁶ and this fashion was faithfully copied by the Byzantines. Thus at one point Nicephorus Bryennius says: 'All know these things and the circumstances lie on the lips of all.'⁷ Cinnamus says he will deal only briefly with affairs that he neither saw himself, nor learnt with certainty.⁸ Attaliates will write simply, as suits history, and confine himself to things he himself saw.⁹ Nicetas Acominatus will rely, as to everything that happened before his time, on what he had

¹ *Hist.* Pref. 1, pp. 2 and 3.

² In regard to this special point of truthfulness it has not seemed necessary sharply to divide the Byzantine historians, as Krumbacher does, into the two classes—*Geschichtschreiber* and *Chronisten*; the generalizations above given apply to both.

³ Just as Tacitus professed to write *sine ira et studio*, so we get protestations of impartial truthfulness down to the very end of Byzantine historiography. See the Prefaces to George Acropolites, John Cantacuzenus, and George Phrantzes in Krumbacher, *G. B. L.* p. 287, note 1, p. 298, note 2, and p. 307, note 1.

⁴ In a paper read before the Modern Language Association at Oxford by the Hon. Alice Bruce.

⁵ She explicitly scorns people who allow prejudice to blind them and who 'judge matters by preference and not as they are' (III. 1, p. 72, and 2, p. 75).

⁶ So Thucydides, above. Polybius, *Hist.* IV. 2. 2, 3, attaches great importance to having 'assisted at some events ourselves, and heard others from those who saw them'.

⁷ *Hist.* Pref. p. 7.

⁸ *Hist.* (beginning), p. 8.

⁹ *Hist.* I. 8, p. 11.

learnt from eyewitnesses.¹ Anna goes upon the same lines. She has got her information from 'those who saw the facts', whose sons and grandchildren are alive as she writes,² or from her parents,³ or from her uncles (especially George Palaeologus),⁴ and other 'actual soldiers' or 'older men' who took part,⁵ or from her father-in-law Bryennius, or from the Empress Maria,⁶ or from the ex-enemy Peter Aluph, or a 'Latin envoy sent by the Bishop of Bari to Robert' Guiscard and consequently present at his Durazzo campaign,⁷ or even from the ferrymen who had picked up news that came straight from the front.⁸ At every turn she tries to impress upon us that her knowledge is either taken from her own recollections or gained at first hand from others who participated in the events.⁹

Of the written sources of the *Alexias* we must now speak briefly. Anna herself refers to the unfinished though already published¹⁰ *ὑλη ἱστορίας* of her husband Nicephorus Bryennius Caesar, begun at the command of his mother-in-law as a means of preserving Alexius' great deeds from oblivion. As it terminates before the abdication of Nicephorus Botaniates, it affords material only for Anna's first two books, and not even for the whole of these. Still it has considerable importance for us, not merely as the 'Onlie Begetter', according to Anna, of her own work,¹¹ but as giving her a model for its general lines. Thus she tells us¹² that it is in imitation of Bryennius that she altogether omits *τὰ παιδικά* of her father, and in its descriptions, form of narrative, and above all (as we saw before) its sentiments, the *Alexias* so far resembles the *Hyle* that, but for its far more difficult and stilted Greek, the wife's work might come from the husband's hand. On five occasions¹³ she explicitly advises her readers to consult her husband's writings as fuller

¹ *Hist.*, Pref. 1, p. 4. We may compare the statements all through the *Gesta Dei per Francos* of Anna's Western contemporary, Guibert de Nogent, that the author has scrupulously tried to get at the truth, especially from eyewitnesses.

² Pref. 2, p. 3; cf. XIV. 9, p. 456. For X. 8 she probably drew on her Mauro-catalo brother-in-law.

³ VI. 8, p. 166; VII. 3, p. 198; XIII. 8, p. 398; XIV. 7, pp. 447, 448. So Nic. Bry. (II. 6, p. 44) quotes Alexius' words.

⁴ XIV. 7, pp. 447, 448.

⁵ III. 9, p. 91; VII. 3, p. 198; VIII. 2, p. 225; IX. 1, p. 245.

⁶ I. 6, p. 16; III. 1, p. 72.

⁷ III. 12, p. 99; IV. 6, p. 117. This Latin envoy has been held to be the source on which William of Apulia drew for his *Poema de rebus Normannorum*. See Krumbacher, *G. B. L.* p. 275.

⁸ XIV. 7, p. 447.

⁹ XIV. 7, pp. 446, 448.

¹⁰ J. Seger (*op. cit.* p. 33), points out that it was customary to publish each part of a work as it was written. Thus Attaliates (p. 322) promises a second part to his work, a promise which he never fulfilled.

¹¹ Pref. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ I. 1, p. 4; I. 4, p. 9; II. 1, p. 43; VII. 2, p. 191; X. 2, p. 271.

than her own, though curiously enough she is inaccurate in stating their scope, saying¹ that his book begins with Romanus Diogenes, whereas the first reign described is actually the earlier one of Isaac Comnenus. The opening of the second chapter of her first Book is a free version of Book II, Chapter 21 of the *Hyle*, and even more closely copied are the three speeches put into her father's mouth in the same episode. Similarly Bryennius' fourth Book is the quarry from which her accounts of the elder Bryennius and of Basilacius are hewn.³ For later events we feel sure Anna must have used her husband's recollections, especially as to the many scenes in which he played a part.³ It is therefore almost inconceivable that she should have disagreed *in toto* with Bryennius' view about John's right of succession⁴ and yet should never mention the fact. We may remark that she alludes to *ἄλλα τινὰ συγγράμματα* of his *μνήμης καὶ λόγου ἄξια*,⁵ now lost. On the whole we may apply to the reign of Alexius the lament over the dearth of contemporary historians which Bury utters as to the lives of John II and of Manuel I,⁶ and conclude that, like Cinnamus and Nicetas, Anna had to rely on sources 'almost exclusively oral'.

For Byzantine events before her day we know that she took extracts verbatim from the *Chronography* of Psellus⁷, and she may have read the works of Attaliates and Scylitzes and Leo Diaconus, possibly even an early issue, so to speak, of Zonaras; but her references to past events are too infrequent to need special notice here. For Alexius' Patzinak Wars she is our sole authority, and we cannot trace her sources. In the First Crusade she narrates on the whole the same facts as the Latin chroniclers,⁸ but from too utterly different a point of view to

¹ Pref. 3, p. 4.

² J. Seger (*op. cit.* p. 57) considers that Bryennius cannot wholly be trusted where his personal prejudices are concerned. He also believes that he wrote the adulatory earlier part, especially the Preface, while Alexius was alive, and changed his tone in Books III and IV after the Emperor's death (pp. 32, 33).

³ Notably the episode of Godfrey de Bouillon at Constantinople (X. 9).

⁴ *Hyle*, Pref., p. 10; cf. p. 27 note 6, above.

⁵ Pref. 3, p. 4.

⁶ J. B. Bury, reviewing F. Chalandon's *Jean II et Manuel I* (*B. Z.* XXII, p. 195).

⁷ Thus III. 8, p. 89 = *Chron.*, Is. Comn., Byz. T., pp. 221 sqq.; V. 9, p. 148 = *Chron.*, Rom. III, Byz. T., p. 26; VII. 2, p. 190 = *Chron.*, Basil II, Byz. T., p. 12. Her phrase in Pref. 1, p. 1, *οὐ περιαντολογία τὸ πρᾶγμα* occurs in Psellus' Funeral Oration on his mother. *B. G. Med.* V, p. 11.

⁸ She probably got facts from Taticius, for after he left Antioch her story of the Crusade is meagre and far from accurate. Thus she calls Peter the Hermit a bishop, possibly confusing him with the Legate Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, or with the Provençal priest Peter Bartholomew, said by the Latin Chroniclers to have found the sacred object, which she calls a 'Nail' and not a 'Lance'. Also she makes Godfrey de Bouillon be captured by the Turks (which he never was) at the battle of Rama, which took place a year after his death (XI. 4, 6, 7). For her chronology in the matter of the Pisan fleet see p. 470, note 9, below.

make any mutual influencing possible, even if she could by any miracle have seen their writings and read their 'barbarous' language. In her theological passages she owes much to her father's chosen champion of orthodoxy, the monk Euthymius Zigabenus, but she may also quite possibly have studied the Conciliar Decrees for herself.

An elaborate defence of her whole method of writing history occurs in XIV. 7, and the assertions which she makes of her truthfulness are worth studying:

'Following the facts themselves and neither adding on my own account nor taking away, I both speak and write what has happened. And the proof is at hand, for I do not take back my composition to 10,000 years ago, but there are some who survive to the present day, and who knew my father and who tell me the facts about him, by whom no small part of the history has been here contributed, with some telling and remembering one thing and some another, as each chanced to do, and all agreeing. And in most cases I too was present with my father and accompanied my mother. . . . Some things then . . . I know of myself' [we may believe that her memories dated at least from the Crusaders' coming to Constantinople when she was 13] 'and the things that happened in the wars I got from those who fought beside my father (for I questioned them in various ways about these matters), and also from certain ferry-men who brought us news. But above all I often listened face to face to the Emperor and George Palaeologus when they discoursed about these things.'

She then hints in veiled language at the tyranny which had kept her for the last thirty years from consorting with any who were attached to her father or could have given her information; we are therefore bound to conclude that her first-hand evidence was all collected before her father's death, whereas her history was not written for three decades afterwards, when 'the third after' Alexius was reigning, i.e. Manuel (1143-80). In her retirement she could only go for fresh materials to 'certain worthless and altogether trifling compositions', and to aged monks who had been laymen and fighters in the far-off days before her father's accession. The information from these two sources, when carefully weighed, proved to tally with what Anna had often heard from her father and from her paternal and maternal uncles. 'From all which things the whole body of the truth is woven together.'

At the end of the same Book XIV she asserts that 'among men now alive there are many witnesses' to the Emperor's dealings with the Manichaeans, and his ordinances for the new

town of Alexiopolis. As always, she deprecates the charge of filial partiality and shrinks from the very idea of being 'convicted of falsehood'.¹

Once more before she closes her story she makes the claim which is as it were the keynote of her history, that she is both *φιλαλήθης* and *φιλοπάτωρ*.² Not because she loves her father does she praise him, but because 'the nature of the facts'³ and his astounding merits compel her. She appeals for confirmation to 'all that have not been ignorant of our affairs'. Truth has been her supreme aim in writing, and this has brought on her the hatred of her enemies. 'Verily,' she sums up, 'I would not betray Truth under the form of History.'

With this ideal before her, it is natural that we should find her attempting to weigh evidence and get at real truth. We may assert almost positively that she never deliberately falsifies facts, and does her best to be impartial to friend and foe in praise or blame.⁴ She had prejudices, racial, social, and personal, but if she deceives us it is only when she herself is deceived. Thus, in discussing her father's share in the blinding of Nicephorus Diogenes, she says: 'God alone may know: I at any rate have not been able hitherto to find out for certain.'⁵ Again, 'God alone knows' why the Sultan of Cairo released the crusading counts, and she tries to assess his probable motives.⁶ She studies astrology a little, not in order to practise it, but 'so as by more accurately judging this foolish thing to judge those who have toiled over it'.⁷ We have already spoken of the cautious and sceptical spirit which made it hard for Byzantines to take anything at its face value. This in Alexius led to surprisingly enlightened views as to portents and omens,⁸ and the same feeling inspires Anna with at least the rudiments of historical criticism. Abel Lefranc⁹ claims for Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, the place of pioneer in this field, and certainly the frank contempt shown in his *De pignoribus sanctorum* for relics (even for a tooth of Our Lord's) and bogus miracles and trust in the Ordeal, as well as for the absurd and never verified histories of saints told by monks whose ignorance and vice he

¹ XIV. 9, p. 456. Cf. XII. 3, p. 354, and the whole tone of the Preface.

² XV. 3. She draws a sharp distinction between historians and writers of panegyrics (III. 8, pp. 87, 91). The latter she despises and suspects of suppressing inconvenient facts (III. 8, p. 88; V. 1, p. 126). See p. 245 below.

³ This phrase occurs in the same connexion in VII. 3, p. 198.

⁴ This is what she claims in the quotation from Polybius, Pref. 2, p. 3.

⁵ IX. 9, p. 265.

⁶ XII. 1, pp. 346, 347.

⁷ VI. 7, p. 164.

⁸ XII. 4, pp. 355 and 357; see pp. 85-86 above.

⁹ *Études d'hist. du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, ed. E. Lavisse, Paris, 1896.

lashes, is startlingly modern to our ears. But all the time, right across Europe, a Byzantine princess was cautiously refusing to commit herself as to visions¹ or prophetic inspiration,² speaking with scarcely veiled contempt of the 'experts' who explained portents,³ weighing testimony, scrutinizing motives, and in short trying as far as in her lay to retrieve Truth from the bottom of its proverbial well.

35. DOCUMENTS AND ENVOYS

IN this connexion it is interesting to learn how Anna herself tells us she treated documentary evidence. Before transcribing the Golden Bull as to her grandmother's Regency, she says:⁴ 'Since it is right for the writer of history not to transmit in the gross (*παχυμερῶς*) the deeds and the decrees of good men, but delicately to delineate the deeds as far as possible, and on the other hand set forth the enactments, I myself will follow this path, and will set forth the contents of the aforesaid Golden Bull, only omitting the artificialities of the scribe.' This sound principle of history-writing, that facts may be summarized but *pièces justificatives* must be given in full, strikes us all the more because, as Stemplinger has pointed out, even Thucydides (like all the writers of antiquity) 'stilisierte' the *ψηφίσματα* and other archives of which he made use.

In regard to the official documents which she quotes in full or to which she alludes, Oster and Chalandon believe Anna to have had direct access to the State archives.⁵ Oster reasons that not only must she have possessed the copies made by her husband for continuing his work, but researches into the past must have been permitted by her brother John as a good vent for her dangerous energy. The argument is not altogether convincing, but is at least plausible. The longest of these documents is Bohemund's treaty with Alexius,⁶ filling many pages and concluding with a long list of signatory witnesses. The

¹ II. 7, pp. 58, 59; VII. 4, p. 199.

² II. 12, p. 68.

³ X. 5, p. 284; XII. 4, p. 355.

⁴ III. 6, p. 83.

⁵ Fr. Dölger (*Corpus der Gr. Urkunden des Mittelalters*, Reihe A, Abt. 1) says in his Introduction to *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* that Anna is almost alone among her contemporaries in quoting documents verbatim, and he believes with the two critics just cited that like Constantine Porphyrogenitus she had through her birth unusual opportunities for consulting the imperial archives. We may remark that where we know her sources (e.g. her husband's History) we find her faithful to them, and this inclines us on doubtful points to give credence to her rather than to any more or less contemporary writer with whom she disagrees.

⁶ XIII. 12.

next in length are the letter¹ to the King of Germany and the above-mentioned Golden Bull² appointing Anna Dalassena Regent. Other letters and rescripts merely mentioned³ or given textually are too numerous to quote.⁴ Anna may also well have seen the ordinance now lost concerning Alexius' gifts to his Orphanage, and the acts of the Assemblies condemning Leo of Chalcedon, Italus, Nilus, and Basil the Bogomile.

Documents of all sorts are mentioned. Golden bulls may, as we saw, confer Regency or assign property,⁵ make a contract or treaty,⁶ or grant a safe conduct or pardon.⁷ (In the case of a treaty each side of course keeps a copy of the provisions, the one as a Golden Bull, the other as a 'written oath'.⁸) The material used as sealing-wax was gold,⁹ and every important person had his or her distinctive seal.¹⁰ The signing of State documents was a jealously guarded prerogative of empire. There was a special inkstand with its pen,¹¹ and the ink was of cinnabar, producing 'red letters'.¹² The document would be prepared by a secretary,¹³ but the right of signature belonged only to the Emperor and co-Emperor¹⁴ or their regent,¹⁵ though according to Bury¹⁶ the *χαρτουλάριος τοῦ κανικλείου*¹⁷ used in practice to sign for them, and Du Cange cites an instance where a Logothete signed imperial documents concerning the public taxes.¹⁸

The trust in written promises rather than verbal was, as we

¹ III. 10.

² III. 6.

³ III. 9, p. 92; 10, p. 93; IV. 2, p. 105; VI. 5, pp. 161-2; XI. 7, p. 329; XII. 2, p. 348, etc.

⁴ V. 5, p. 138; VI. 12, p. 177; VIII. 7, p. 237; IX. 3, p. 250; X. 7, p. 288; XI. 9, pp. 332, 333. Of these letters obviously very few make any pretension to authenticity; they are like what Stemplinger calls the 'Maskenreden' or fictitious speeches put into the mouths of their characters by classical and later writers, including Anna herself. The communications to or from Greek or 'barbarian' in the *Alexias* bear the stamp of only one personality, that of the writer; she would probably never have thought that any reader would take them literally, so that the question of veracity did not arise. See above, Ch. 28.

⁵ III. 6, p. 83; XIV. 9, p. 456; XV. 7, p. 485.

⁶ IV. 2, p. 105; VII. 6, p. 202; XI. 2, p. 313; XIII. 12, p. 416.

⁷ III. 12, p. 97; VI. 4, p. 158.

⁸ XIII. 12, p. 416.

⁹ III. 4, p. 79.

¹⁰ In III. 6, p. 84, Anna Dalassena's seal is said to bear the Transfiguration of Our Lord and the Dormitio of the B.V.M.

¹¹ II. 10, p. 62.

¹² III. 4, pp. 79, 80; XIII. 12, pp. 407, 416.

¹³ II. 8, p. 60.

¹⁴ III. 4, p. 80.

¹⁵ III. 6.

¹⁶ *Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*. Ch. C. VII. (4).

¹⁷ The inkstand was shaped like a dog; see Du Cange's notes on II. 10, p. 62 D, and XI. 10, p. 338 A. In XI. 10, p. 338, we find Eustathius Cymineanus, a eunuch holding *ἡ τοῦ κανικλείου ἀξία*, made Great Drungary of the Fleet. Cf. Alexius' Novel 22 in P. G. 126, col. 972.

¹⁸ Note on III. 1, p. 70 A.

have already seen, a characteristic mark of the Byzantine caution, but the same spirit prevails to-day. 'Get it in writing' is the maxim of business now as then. So the people of Nicaea will do nothing without 'written promises' from Alexius;¹ a γραμματίων has to carry the imperial reprieve to the sentenced conspirator Anemas,² and a document once written by a sovereign has such power that it can be used against himself.³ Even the casting of Sacred Lots is done by rolls (πύκτια) or papers⁴ (χαρτία) on which Yes or No is written. The language of documents was so far stereotyped that Bohemund expresses his desire to 'keep the proper phrase of those who make contracts in writing';⁵ we can judge of such ιδιότης by the bombast of the three principal state papers in the *Alexias*.⁶ Writing out passages for analysis was part of the education given in the imperial Orphanage,⁷ and the Emperor himself not only knew how to write, when the Western counts did not,⁸ but could draw a map⁹ and work out military plans on parchment.¹⁰ The monasteries had written inventories (βρέβια) of their possessions, kept accurately enough to constitute a legal record.¹¹ On the whole however it must be confessed that though as we know in other ways the Byzantine archives were very rich in lists, tax-returns, and registers of all sorts, yet except for casual references to the military or the senatorial or the ecclesiastical register Anna Comnena shows little cognizance of the fact. At the same time she makes us feel what intimate and vital service was rendered to a sovereign by his 'secretaries'. They form part of his household, they draw up his documents,¹² they take down (possibly

¹ XI. 1, p. 310, and 2, p. 313. See other instances on p. 151 above.

² XII. 6, p. 364.

³ VI. 9, p. 170.

⁴ X. 2, p. 273; XV. 4, p. 471.

⁵ XIII. 12, p. 407.

⁶ III. 6, even though Anna here professes to have removed τὰς κομψείας; III. 10, and XIII. 12.

⁷ XV. 7, p. 485. Writing was sometimes put to a bad use, as in the case of the lampoons thrown into Alexius' tent in the face of severe penalties. It is curious to read of 'a soldier's wallet' filled with papers of the sort (XIII. 1).

⁸ XIII. 12, p. 416.

⁹ XIII. 7, p. 396.

¹⁰ XV. 3, p. 469.

¹¹ VI. 3, p. 156.

¹² The words used are ὑπογραφείς, ὑπογραμματεῖς, and νοτάριος (II. 8, p. 60; III. 8, p. 88; XIII. 12, p. 416, and elsewhere). Cinnamus (I. 8, p. 10) speaks of a man who had been ὑπογραμματεῖς to the Emperor 'from a child'. Nic. Acom. tells of one who grew rich ἐκ τοῦ τάσσειν φόρους (*John C.* 3, p. 7). So Eustathius of Thessalonica speaks affectionately of a συνδιάκονος as ἐμὸν θρέμμα καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὑπογραμματεῖς (*P. G.* 136, col. 1300). In VII. 2, p. 192, the 'under-secretary' Nicolas predicts an eclipse. Another, 'one of the nobles taken into Alexius' household from childhood', is a great legal expert and his master's invaluable critic; he becomes prefect of Constantinople (XIII. 1, p. 376). A third rose to be Logothete τῶν σεκρέτων (see Du Cange's note on IX. 8, p. 261 A), i.e. Grand Treasurer, most important of all the Logothetes.

in shorthand) the confessions of his enemies.¹ The Emperor was dependent on them at every turn.

One other small point remains to be noted. In the very large correspondence carried on by the Emperor we cannot fail to be impressed with the importance not only of the 'secretaries' who actually conducted it, but also of the messengers who carried the letters to their destination.² On rare occasions they are trusted to speak their own words and to act as plenipotentiaries, especially if akin to the person addressed;³ usually they are provided with papers.⁴ Even from and to besieged towns letters are carried,⁵ and generals threaten their enemies or their Emperor in writing.⁶ Letters to deceive or persuade, letters of accusation or sharp remonstrance or mere information, letters to collect mercenaries or give orders to officers and allies, indeed letters of any and every kind appear in every phase of the story.⁷ At one point Alexius demands *ἀπόρρητα γράμματα* as a kind of secret service information from two of his young officers about their commander at the front,⁸ and in his dealings with his troublesome nephew John Comnenus he carries to a fine point the diplomatic trick of sending letters to say one thing and an envoy to say another.⁹ 'Letters and friendly greetings' between his army and the Normans

¹ IX. 8, p. 261; XV. 8, p. 488.

² We may remember the passage in Thucydides: 'Nicias, fearing lest his messengers, either from inability to speak or from want of intelligence, or because they desired to please the people, might not tell the whole truth, wrote a letter' (*Hist.* VII. 8). Theophylact (Ser. I, Ep. 11, P. G. 126, col. 324) alludes feelingly to the difficulty of finding reliable messengers. 'For many men are ready (*πρόχειροι*) to accept letters, but to carry them and deliver them to him to whom they were written, they are slothful and as it were handless' (*ἄχειρες*).

³ When the wounded Eustathius Camytzes brings to Irene the tidings of her husband's victory the proceeding is so informal that he does not wait to change his clothes, and she lets him sit in her presence to tell his tale. He bears no letter, but makes a speech next day in the Forum of Constantine to spread the good news (XIV. 6; cf. XII. 7, p. 364).

⁴ Even the imperial envoy Butumites carries not only verbal messages but 'imperial letters' (XIV. 2, p. 424), and a messenger important enough to have his name mentioned takes a letter as well as 'sufficient money' to 'Babylon', i.e. Cairo, for ransoming the counts (XI. 7, p. 328; XII. 1, p. 346. We are assuming that these two passages tell one story, not two, and that Bardales and Nicetas Panucomites are one and the same man).

⁵ IV. 1, p. 103; 8, p. 122; V. 5, pp. 137, 138; XI. 2, p. 313; XIII. 8, p. 399. In X. 4, p. 278, a letter is shot in, tied to an arrow.

⁶ XII. 2, p. 348; 7, p. 364.

⁷ VI. 9, p. 170; VIII. 3, p. 226; 7, *passim*; IX. 4, p. 252; XI. 3, p. 316; 7, p. 329; 8, p. 332; 9, *passim*; XII. 1, p. 346; 3, p. 350; 4, p. 356; 7, p. 364; 8, p. 366; XIII. 1, p. 376; 8, p. 399; XIV. 5, pp. 438, 439; XV. 2, p. 465.

⁸ XI. 9, p. 333. In XIII. 7 Lantulph writes openly to Alexius complaining of his chief Isaac Contostephanus, and this breach of discipline is favourably taken.

⁹ VIII. 7, pp. 237, 238.

with whom they are at war are one of the dangers he dreads, and at the same crisis he himself writes bogus incriminating letters.¹

Some at least of these missives were carried by special runners, like the Scythian 'with winged feet, as the saying is' who announced to the Emperor the landing of Bohemund in Illyria.² The *γραμματοκομισταί* in charge of the bogus letters just referred to have to be guarded against injury,³ doubtless a necessary precaution in that treacherous age. Even the story of Bellerophon finds its counterpart in that of George, son of Decanus, though imprisonment and not death is the fate he carries for himself in the letter.⁴ In theory of course the person of envoys, even more than of mere letter-carriers, is sacred; they are received with honour and the task is almost invariably entrusted to men of distinction.⁵ Anna's horror against the Pope for mutilating the German envoys would be entirely justified if the story had been true.⁶ When her father on a flimsy pretext seizes the 150 Patzinaks who have come to treat about peace no reader will be otherwise than pleased that they escape after all.⁷ When it is a question of getting an oath from a person at a distance, specially important messengers are sent.⁸ A 'Latin envoy sent by the Bishop of Bari' accompanies Guiscard's army, while ambassadors in our sense of the term appear as witnesses to the treaty between Alexius and Bohemund, coming from the Pope, the Hungarians (whom Anna calls Dacians), and an Italian prince.⁹ Envoys to remonstrate or persuade figure in delicate negotiations; yet even plenipotentiaries, capable of 'adding to the words' lies

¹ XIII. 4.

² XII. 9, p. 372. In III. 12, p. 97, we hear of a *ταχυδρόμος*, in VIII. 8, p. 238, of a *γραμματοκομιστής δρομαῖος*.

³ XIII. 4, p. 389.

⁴ VIII. 9, p. 242.

⁵ I. 15, p. 35; 16, p. 39; IV. 2, p. 107; VI. 12, p. 178; cf. V. 5, p. 139. Count Hugh of Vermandois sends to John Comnenus at Durazzo twenty-four envoys, 'clothed in golden armour with greaves and all,' headed by a Count and an apparently important deserter (X. 7, p. 288). In VII. 6, p. 202, the envoy Synesius seems to be given power of independent action, while the Coman *πρέσβεις* are generously treated. Shortly afterwards the Emperor himself has to send *πρέσβεις* to sue for peace (*ibid.* p. 203). Cf. Bohemund to Duke Alexius in XIII. 8, p. 399, where neither letters nor envoys are expressly mentioned. In XIV. 3, p. 432, we see an attempt to overawe the Turkish envoys, but no violence is shown.

⁶ I. 13, p. 31.

⁷ VII. 2, p. 193.

⁸ III. 10 and V. 3, p. 130; XI. 8, p. 332; XIII. 12, p. 411; XIV. 2.

⁹ III. 12, p. 99; XIII. 12, p. 416, and see Du Cange's note on '*Πισκάρδος Σουλτακάρδος*'. The word *πρέσβεις* is used of the Venetian delegates who treat with Alexius (IV. 2, p. 105).

of their own invention, receive detailed instructions from the Emperor beforehand.¹ He was his own Foreign Minister quite as much as his own Commander-in-Chief.

Enough has now been said to show how important in Anna's eyes was the written word. Her father, one feels, must have been always receiving or issuing letters, or causing his secretaries to draw up multifarious documents, and from her babyhood her whole conception of a historian must have been permeated with the maxim, 'Littera scripta manet'. What she in her turn writes she intends to last for ever.

36. SUBJECT—THE BASILEUS

WE have said that classical historians laid great stress on the choice of a worthy subject. In this as in other particulars Anna does not forget her models. It may be said that her two exceptional advantages as a historian are, first that she has no rival whom she wishes to controvert² but only a respected husband to supplement, secondly that she has a dearly-loved central figure for her story, dominating and giving connected interest to the whole. It is difficult for us to appreciate, however often we try to grasp it, the attitude of veneration, almost of worship, in which the Byzantines stood to their βασιλεύς. Diehl has pointed out³ the triple root of this feeling. From the Roman Empire he had inherited the role of Emperor, 'that is, both the supreme war-lord and the unimpeachable legislator', from the East he had acquired the prerogatives of the autocrat to whom subjects bow down as slaves, and through the Church he had come to be regarded as 'the elect of God, His vicar in earth'.⁴

In the truest sense of the word Divinity did hedge a king in the Byzantine mind. He is the βασιλεύς while every other

¹ XI. 8, p. 332; XIV. 2, p. 427. Inasmuch as Alexius usually prefers diplomacy to arms, it is strange to find his daughter treating 'mildly sending envoys' instead of fighting as a childish playing at war (IX. 2, p. 249). But the general in question is not her father.

² e. g. as Polybius does Phylarchus.

³ *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 726. Cf. *Cec. Strat.* p. 74: 'The Emperor enthroned at Constantinople always wins.'

⁴ We find Attaliates in his address to Botaniates (before his History opens) making for that Emperor very much the same claims that Anna did for her father; he is βασιλικώτερος than his predecessors; he has conquered enemies and rebels; his zeal for learning is incomparable; above all he reigns as God's chosen.

monarch is rightfully only *ῥῆξ*.¹ When the arrogant Turkish emir calls himself Emperor, uses 'the insignia belonging to emperors', dwells at Smyrna 'as though an imperial residence', and actually aspires to the Empire,² his presumption is so preposterous and incredible that Alexius can easily persuade the Sultan of Nicaea that a Turkish and not the Greek throne is all he can really be coveting.³ Nothing in the world was as godlike in Byzantine eyes as the Emperor of the 'Romaioi'. He was head of Church and State; he summoned Councils and only by his authority could their edicts be carried out; he made and unmade Patriarchs and was himself the great champion of Orthodoxy. In short, he was as truly a *Roi Soleil*⁴ as any Louis XIV, and in writing his biography his daughter was writing the history of the time. The Emperor is the mightiest sovereign in the world and his realm the one true Empire,⁵ the only fitting theme for her story. All the world acknowledges his greatness; he 'is not one of ordinary mortals'.⁶ Never in the story of the Crusade does she express the slightest surprise, or even satisfaction, when the Counts take the oath of homage to the Emperor; it is merely as it should be with 'barbarians'.⁷

All this helps us to realize the seriousness, almost the awe, with which she undertook her task and contemplated her subject.⁸ C. Neumann points out that to turn from Byzantine writers of the twelfth century to their contemporary chroniclers in the West is to turn, in all such matters as narration, order, character-drawing, and political science, from civilization to barbarism indeed.⁹ May it not well be that pride in their noble

¹ I. 13, p. 30, &c.; XI. 7, p. 329. Note the one exception, due according to Neumann (*Weltstellung*, &c., ch. II, p. 28) to a convention even older than the days of John Tzimisces, that *βασιλεύς* is used of the Bulgarian monarch (VII. 3, p. 194; XII. 9, p. 371). The Latin chroniclers call the French king *Rex Regum*, but to Anna it is sheer madness for his brother to style himself *βασιλεύς τῶν βασιλέων* (X. 7, p. 288).

² IX. 1, p. 245.

³ IX. 3, p. 250. When the pseudo-Diogenes claims the throne he goes into battle 'clothed in purple and attired like an emperor', and it is this insolence that brings on him a personal assault by one of the young Greek officers (X. 3, p. 277).

⁴ XV. 11, p. 505. So Alexius is the sun and Irene the moon in the second poem published by C. Neumann (*Gr. Geschichtschreiber im 12. Jahrh.*) from the Vatican MS. of the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus (lines 25, 27).

⁵ To marry the Sultan's son would have been 'to share a kingdom sadder than any poverty' (VI. 12, p. 178).

⁶ This is admitted by Robert Guiscard in IV. 5, p. 113; V. 3, p. 132, and the Sultan of Chorassan in XIV. 3, p. 432. In the same spirit Nic. Bry. fills the Preface to his *Hyle* with protestations of his own unworthiness to write either a history or an encomium of so great a hero as Alexius.

⁷ X. 7 and sqq.
⁸ She will insert nothing unworthy of such a theme and such a writer (I. 13, p. 31; III. 2, p. 72; VI. 7, p. 165; XV. 9, p. 490).

⁹ *Gr. Geschichtschreiber im 12. Jahrh.*, p. 3.

subject, pride in themselves as the true *Ῥωμαῖοι*,¹ lay at the root of this superiority? In the case of Alexius' biography this pride was double distilled. He has in fact the distinction of being the founder of the first truly Greek dynasty, and in his daughter's eyes he is the great restorer of the 'Roman' Empire.² Two passages in her work give as it were her confession of faith, her fixed point of view. After describing the great extent of the Roman sovereignty in old days, and its shrinkage before the accession of her father who 'widened the circle' once more, she concludes:³ 'And he would have restored the Empire to its former prosperity, if the continual struggles and frequent toils and dangers . . . (for the Emperor was *μεγαλοκίνδυνός τε καὶ πυκνοκίνδυνος*) had not hindered him in his desire.' This is always the burden of her song; his achievements would have been still more marvellous if he had had a fair chance, and even as it was men might wonder whether the great deeds of his reign were facts or figments of a dream.⁴ The second passage is in the same strain. 'The greatness of the subject oppresses' her; her desire is twofold, to write history and to present, as he had never let it be presented in his lifetime, the pathetic picture of her father's trials.⁵ She has an imperial as well as a filial duty to perform.

This brings us to the consideration of a small but important side-issue. How far did Anna, with the parade of emotion of which we have already spoken, approve of pathos in the writing of history? In theory she abjured it altogether, and would have accepted the distinction drawn by Archbishop Eustathius⁶ between *ἱστορία* and *συγγραφή*, history and narrative, both equally truthful but such that the second calls for pathos and the pointing of morals, while the first must set forth the causes and motives of events and actions, must give descriptions, display learning, and please the ear, and yet must throughout be written *ἀπαθῶς*. Thus whenever Anna finds herself specially moved she recalls herself with some ostentation to the straight and narrow path of her history. She may wish to weep as a woman, but as a historian she wipes away her tears and pulls herself together from *τοῦ πάθους*, when she perceives that she is being 'carried away from the task' before her.⁷ She checks her

¹ The word *Ῥωμαῖοι* is translated 'Greek' throughout this essay, never 'Roman', except in inverted commas.

² In I. 6, p. 16, she says: 'God preserved Comnenus for greater honour like some precious possession (*χρῆμα τίμιον*), wishing through him to restore the Empire of the Greeks.' See p. 256 below.

⁴ XV. 10, p. 497.

³ VI. 11, p. 176.
⁵ XV. 11, pp. 495, 496.

⁶ *De Thess. urbe capta*, P. G. 136, cols. 9 sqq.

⁷ Pref. 4, p. 7. For *τὸ προκείμενον* cf. III. 8, p. 91; XV. 11, p. 497.

weeping so that she may not 'confuse the history by mixing with historical narratives laments' of her own.¹ 'The law of history'² conquers the *πάθος* which inclines her to wail over her dead brother Andronicus; she feels however bound to 'go beyond the rules (*δεσμοί*) of history' and to relate the tragic circumstances of her father's death.³ Similarly, when she descants on her mother's theological learning, she knows that the 'law of rhetoric' permits it, but the 'rule of history' cuts her short.⁴ In another place she calls as witnesses 'all who are minded to unveil the truth without *πάθος*'.⁵ But the best statement of her theories on the subject occurs in the story of the campaign against Robert Guiscard and may be given in full. After narrating her father's wonderful escape at Durazzo, she says:⁶

'But in the midst of my writing I have forgotten, partly from the nature of history, partly from the wonderfulness of the facts, that I am describing the successes (*κατορθώματα*) of a father. For because I do not wish to make my history suspect I often hurry over my father's acts, neither exaggerating them nor adding sentiment (*πάθος*). But would that I were free from this filial sentiment (*πάθος πατρικόν*) and at liberty, so that as it were grasping the abundant material I might show what familiarity my loosened tongue has with noble deeds. But natural affection restrains my zeal, for fear that I may seem to the multitude to incur, in my ardour for speaking about my own affairs, the reproach of a marvel-monger. For on many occasions remembering my father's successes I might have wept my heart out describing and relating how many evils he encountered, and I should not have passed the spot without mourning and lamentation. But in order that there may be no artificial rhetoric (*ῥητορεία κομψή*) about that part of the history, like senseless adamant and stone I hurry over what befell my father, though I ought to bring it out into an oath like that young man in Homer (for I am no whit inferior to him who said, 'No, by Zeus, and by the woes of my father, O Agelaus'), so as to be and be called a loving daughter (*φιλοπάτωρ*). But let my filial sentiment (*πάθος*) be reserved for myself alone, for wonder or wailing,⁷ and let the thread of the history be resumed.'

¹ I. 12, p. 27. Cf. XIV. 3, p. 431, where 'a tear springs out' at the thought of her father's ungrateful enemies whom she longs to denounce by name. 'But I restrain my tongue and my panting heart.'

² XV. 6, p. 475.

³ XV. 11, p. 496.

⁴ V. 9, pp. 147, 148.

⁵ III. 8, p. 91.

⁶ IV. 8.

⁷ τὸ μὲν πάθος τὸ πατρικὸν ἐμοὶ μόνῃ καταλείφθω καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ ὀλοφύρεσθαι. The word *πάθος* may perhaps have here, as C. S. H. B. translates it, the meaning of 'suffering'. Then the sense would be, 'Let my father's sufferings be left for me to admire and bewail in solitude', and *πατρικόν* is used subjectively instead of objectively.

In our eyes Anna falls into both the historiographical sins which she deprecates, artificial rhetoric and sentimentality, but to herself without doubt she appeared a model of simple lucidity and self-restraint.¹

It is of course consistent with this same attitude of mind, this ill-concealed idolization of her father, that she should see in every occurrence the hand of Providence, the eye of God, protecting and watching over the great Emperor. Of this as it affects Anna's personal religious faith we have already spoken. In a question of history-writing it brings us to the great problem of 'fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute' which may or may not have been discussed by the Fallen Angels 'on a hill retired',² but has assuredly affected every narrator ever since. Pagans and Christians alike have hesitated between Fortune and Providence, *τύχη* and *πρόνοια*, as the ultimate cause of events. Polybius lays the principal stress on man's own actions. Plotinus has many chapters on Fate and Providence and Chance, while Procopius believes so much in *εἰμαρμένη* as to doubt the power of prayer to change the predetermined. In the ninth century Nicolas Mysticus ascribes the loss of Sicily to the folly of the Greek admiral and not to God's anger, and Leo begins his *Tactica* by saying that divine protection for the Roman Empire lasted as long as it cultivated the military art and no longer. Attaliates devotes several pages to the statement that God gave victory to the ancient Romans because though pagans they were just and law-abiding and humble before their deity, and will deny it to wicked Christians. He mourns over the inability of the Greek emperors to realize this. Why do they not read history and see that calamities have always come either from God's wrath towards sin or from man's stupidity? Why, when defeated, do they not perceive 'the nemesis of God' and mend their ways?³ In Anna's own day Theodore Prodromus gives us yet another point of view. Though professing a firm belief in Providence he rails at the injustices of fortune, finally consoling himself with the reflection that even St. Paul could not 'tread the abyss of the mysteries of God'. So Anna herself, though on the whole she believes that God rules all, and that *τύχη* should be considered a *θεία ψήφος*,⁴ ascribes misfortunes to the folly of men⁵ no less than to 'divine

¹ For her attitude to *κομψεία*, see III. 6, p. 83, and XIV. 7, p. 448.

² Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 557, 560.

³ Attal., pp. 193-8.

⁴ XII. 7, p. 363. By the *ψήφος Θεοῦ* Botaniates got his crown (Attal. opening address).

⁵ XIV. 3, p. 433; XIV. 7, p. 444.

permission'. Like many a Christian before and since she tries to reconcile opposite theories and combine the 'foreknowledge absolute' of divine *πρόνοια* with the 'free will' that alone makes her hero's actions deserving of praise.

One more topic, closely connected with the Basileus, now presents itself, namely Anna's pride in the city of her birth. It is well known that to all Byzantines Constantinople was the queen of cities, the 'beloved city' from which no wise man was voluntarily absent.¹ Anna's references to all the palaces and other glories have as it were a triumphant ring. She tells of the Purple Chamber and its splendid marbles, and though princes 'born in the purple' undoubtedly did not get their names from its colour, we as we read her are content that she should think so.² We enjoy her complacency over statuary in the streets,³ over church doors inlaid with silver and gold,⁴ over the 'open-air court paved with marble' near the church of St. Demetrius.⁵ Writing for readers who would need no descriptions she alludes cursorily to Constantine's Hippodrome or 'theatre'⁶ with its stone pyramid, to his Forum, to the Bronze Hands over an archway marking the limits of a criminal's possible reprieve, to the Gates of Blachernae and Charisius and St. Romanus, and to the different orientation of the Great and the Mangana Palaces. The topography of medieval Constantinople has been much studied,⁷ and cannot be dealt with here. Here it is enough to assert that though on the whole Anna prefers to describe people rather than places, yet anything she says about her beloved Constantinople is none the less clear and accurate for being tinged with imperial pride. Like her fiancé Constantine Ducas she might, in the words of Theophylact, congratulate herself because hers was a *πατρίς βασιλίσσα καὶ μεγαλόπολις καὶ καλλίπολις*, great beyond compare.⁸

¹ I. 16, p. 38; XI. 9, p. 334. It is ingratitude that makes Gregory Gabras wish to leave it for his Trebizond home (VIII. 9) and morbidity when the blinded and defeated rebel, Nicephorus Diogenes, 'shunning residence in the metropolis', prefers to live on his own estates (IX. 10, p. 265).

² VII. 2, p. 190; cf. VI. 8, p. 166. The name Porphyrogenitus undoubtedly came from the association of 'Tyrian purple' with imperial pomp. As a matter of fact the colour was nearer scarlet, as can be seen in the illuminations of medieval manuscripts.

³ III. 1, p. 72; VII. 2, p. 190.

⁴ V. 2, p. 129.

⁵ XII. 6, p. 361.

⁶ II. 6, p. 54; 10, p. 64; VI. 11, p. 174; X. 9; XII. 6, p. 363; XIV. 6, p. 444; XV. 10, p. 493; 11, pp. 500, 503. Robert de Clary (f. 122, cols. 1 and 2), describes the Hippodrome as a flat place with rising tiers of seats all round, 'la ou li Griu montoient pour eswarder les jus'. Anna gives no such details, though she mentions *βαθμούς*.

⁷ Especially by Ebersolt, Mordtmann, Paspates, and van Millingen.

⁸ Theoph., *παύδ. βασιλ.* I, 3 (P. G. 126, col. 256). We may compare Thucydides'

37. FILIAL AND OTHER PREJUDICES

WE now approach more directly the subject of Anna's veracity. We have already dealt with the self-pity and desire to play the tragedy queen which makes parts of her autobiography positively unintelligible. As to her filial partiality much has been written and the estimates of various critics will doubtless continue to vary greatly. We have seen that she herself scouts the imputation. Great as her subject was, loving as her heart was, she never let sentiment (so she would have us believe) obscure truth. But for most of us 'the lady doth protest too much, methinks'. Her constant assertions of impartiality¹ seem to any dispassionate reader to point to an uneasy conscience, and when she says, 'Whenever I see my father stumbling I actually transgress the law of nature and cling to truth, holding him indeed dear, but having truth dearer', we begin at once to look, but quite in vain, for the fair-minded criticism of which she boasts. His deceits are a καλή ἀπάτη.² His escapes in battle, what the unkind might call his running away, are a θαῦμα παράδοξον.³ On this point Anna may be considered sensitive. In a very lengthy excursus in XV. 3 she defends her father against the charge of cowardice, claiming for him courage (he 'loved danger if ever any one

eulogy of Athens (*Hist.* II. 38). Attal. p. 23, calls Constantinople ἡ εὐδαίμων μεγάλη πόλις, Constantine the Rhodian names her 'this city of the world's desire' (*Rev. des ét. gr.*, IX, 1896, p. 38); to Prodrômus she is ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης καρδιά (*P. G.* 133, col. 1246), to Callicles (Poem XXX. 1) she is ἡ πανευτυχὴς καὶ πανολβία πόλις. For the impression produced by the Constantinople of Anna's day on foreigners we may give two references out of many. First we have Foucher de Chartres, chaplain of Baldwin the Crusader. In *Hist. Hierosol.* I. 9. 1, he says: 'O quanta civitas nobilis et decora! quot monasteria, quot palatia sunt in ea, opere miro fabrefacta! quot etiam in plateis vel vicis opera ad spectandum mirabilia.' [We may compare the visit of Abul Cassim, *Al.* VI. 11, p. 174.] 'taedium est magnum recitare quanta sit ibi bonorum omnium opulentia, auri scilicet, argenti, palliorum multiformium, sanctorumque reliquiarum. omni etiam tempore navigio frequenti cuncta hominum necessaria illuc adferunt negotiatores.' (Cf. what Anna says of the city when her father's troops sacked it, II. 10, p. 64.) Secondly, the *Skalholtbok* (*Antiquités russes*, II. 416, quoted by Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves*, pp. 68, 69) tells of the splendour of Constantinople and St. Sophia in the twelfth century as regards relics. On the occasion of the Latin siege of 1204 it is hard to say whether the Greek Nicetas or the French Villehardouin is the more admiring. See *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 745, and compare also Leib, *op. cit.* pp. 236, 237.

¹ Pref. 2, p. 2; I. 16, p. 40; IV. 8; XV. 3. In XIV. 9, p. 456, she actually declares that she has omitted τὰ πλεῖω of her father's achievements, and insists that her story shall not be stigmatized as δωροδοκοῦσα, literally 'taking bribes'. In III. 8, pp. 90, 91, she says her object is not to 'write an encomium', but 'to make history'. With XV. 3 cf. Psellus on his mother, *B. G. Med.* V. p. 11.

² VI. 10, p. 175.

³ IV. 7, p. 119. See p. 517 below.

did') no less than wisdom and resourcefulness. In a phrase which strikes us as sad bathos she compares him to a caltrop ('falling he stood'). Yet even this modest compliment she fears may earn for her the reputation of 'bragging', and she asserts once more that truth not partiality makes her praise so 'good' a man. She represents him as almost superhumanly modest, shunning all praise for his exploits,¹ which he only narrated 'to us in the intimate circle'.² But his daughter for all her fear of boasting does not hesitate to compare him to Alexander the Great,³ to the Apostles, and even to Our Lord Himself.⁴ His life was a model of sobriety,⁵ he toiled for others till he killed himself, he was a Thirteenth Apostle for religious zeal;⁶ in fact 'in all things he excelled all', orators in eloquence, military heroes in strategy.⁷ Yet all the while the same recurrent note is struck; she claims to be writing not a panegyric but a history, and understating facts rather than exaggerating them.⁸

Out of a tangled mass of high-falutin' sentiment in her famous passage deprecating pathos in history⁹ there emerges one interesting and rather novel thought: Anna could wish she was not Alexius' daughter, not because in that case she would have less power of talking about his woes, but because she would have more, as no one would then suspect her of partiality. It is the exact opposite of Psellus' saner view that a person is all the more bound to bestow praise when he knows by 'domestic and intimate experience' that it is deserved, as in the case of his mother.¹⁰

In conclusion we may say that whether justified or not, whether wearying to the modern reader or not, Anna's admiration of her father's wisdom, ingenuity, foresight, calmness, generosity, eloquence, missionary fervour, piety, courage, intrepidity, strength, daring, and insight keeps up steadily throughout her work. He was certainly a hero if not to his valet at least to his eldest daughter, and in her opinion the greatest writers of antiquity could hardly have done justice to his great deeds.¹¹

¹ XV. 11, p. 495.

² VII. 3, p. 198.

³ XV. 7, p. 485.

⁴ XIV. 3, p. 431; 8, p. 453; XV. 7, pp. 483, 484.

⁵ XV. 11, p. 498.

⁶ VI. 11, p. 176; XIV. 8, p. 453; XV. 11, especially p. 498.

⁷ XV. 8, p. 487; cf. XV. 10, p. 495.

⁸ III. 8, p. 91; V. 1, p. 126; XII. 3; XIV. 7; XV. 3. Bryennius says the same in praising his father. *Hyle*, IV. 5, p. 96.

⁹ IV. 8, quoted in Ch. 36 above.

¹⁰ *B. G. Med.* V, p. 3.

¹¹ VIII. 6, p. 236. She would have approved of the fulsome praise of her father in the already mentioned poems from the Vatican MS. of the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus (C. Neumann, *Gr. Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 33-5). Alexius is most pious, a great blessing (εὐτύχημα) for the Greeks, an ingenious general, ἀγχινοῦς as

This brings us to an even more vital matter by which to test Anna's truthfulness. The last chapter of her book gives a most minute and touching picture of her father's last days and of the anguish caused to her mother and herself by his death. Are we to believe, on the authority of one man¹ writing more than fifty years after the events, that this is all untrue, that Irene and Anna were only concerned with plans to make the dying man support their selfish ambitions, and that all her filial affection was from beginning to end a sham? We may truly blame our authoress for egotism as to her own woes, for exaggerated language, and for the 'bitterness' which she futilely deprecates, but these are flaws in a very different category from deliberate insincerity. If in actual fact she hoped, even after Constantine's death, to succeed Alexius and hated her father undyingly for killing these hopes, why did she write his biography on such eulogistic lines, instead of with the venom that would have relieved her feelings and thrilled her readers?²

Let us come down to details. If we are to believe modern critics, Oster and Neumann and Chalandon, Anna wilfully garbles facts as to her mother not only in her last chapter but in her whole book by representing her as a devoted wife.³ They

a ruler, famous for *κατορθώματα* and *τρόπαια*, defender of the faith, &c., and the Trinity are called on to bless him. It is therefore curious to find Anna omitting many incidents of Alexius' life recorded by her husband, especially as his ecstatic eulogies (*Hyle*, I. 6, p. 20, and elsewhere) show precisely the same spirit as her own. We can understand her leaving out the quarrels which attended her father's marriage to Irene, as well as the fact of his previous marriage to one of the Argyrus house (*ibid.* III. 6), or his inglorious if prudent refusal to march against his brother-in-law Nicephorus Melissenus (*ibid.* IV. 31); these things did not specially redound to his credit, and Bryennius' arguments to justify his accession may have been omitted by her as not altogether convincing to her conscience (*ibid.* Pref.). But why should she fail to tell us of Alexius' prowess in Asia Minor on the occasion of his brother Isaac's capture, and their subsequent joint campaign (*ibid.* II. 5-13), his preservation from shipwreck by the Mother of God (*ibid.* II. 27, p. 64), his friendly relations at Constantinople with the captured Urselius and with the grateful Emperor Michael VII (*ibid.* II. 28, p. 64), his gallant defence of the capital (*ibid.* III. 13, p. 78), the important part which he played during the transfer of sovereignty from Michael to Botaniates (*ibid.* III. 19-23), and his success in restoring order and winning popularity in his *οἰκέτα ἀρχή* of the Western Provinces (*ibid.* IV. 30)? Such silence certainly seems to justify her assertion that boasting was *au fond* not her object, and tends to make us feel confident that Anna believes in nearly if not quite all the wonderful qualities of head and heart and arm that she ascribes to her father.

¹ Nicetas Acominatus, who as a devotee of John belauds his hero in a way that throws doubt on his general discrimination and accuracy.

² The existence of another view of Alexius due to mere spite is suggested by the Preface of John Cinnamus' *History* (p. 2). He passes over the life of this Emperor with a bare reference, because it has been accurately narrated by those 'who have not composed their history *πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἐκείνῳ*'. Cinnamus never mentions Anna or her husband by name.

³ See p. 114, notes 4 and 5, above.

assert that Alexius Comnenus all along found a dangerous opponent in his wife Irene Ducas: they take the popular rumour of his wish to get a divorce so as to marry the Empress Maria, and his opposition to the coronation of his young girl bride,¹ as showing a rivalry between himself and her which lasted throughout the reign.² We may say at once that in this first struggle the principals appear to have been not Alexius and Irene but Anna Dalassena and John Ducas Caesar, with the ἀπροφάσιτος μῆνις that existed between them.³ Also, if we believe Zonaras and Glycas in their statement that at first Alexius was not a faithful husband, we ought surely to accept their subsequent assertion that the passing of years made him increasingly dependent on his wife.⁴

We read in the *Alexias* that Irene's going into camp with her husband was an act of self-sacrifice for her and a subject of derisive gossip to those who wished him ill. Anna herself refers to τοὺς φιλοσκώμοντας καὶ τὰς φιλολοιδόρους γλώττας,⁵ and she may even have been aware of the currency of such scandal as Chalandon credits, to the effect that Alexius took her because he could not trust her influence in Constantinople if left behind. But scandal is not fact, and there seems no reason why it should not be true as Anna asserts that the Emperor took his wife away with him from the comforts of the capital to act as his nurse and his guardian, either of which functions might easily excite the contemptuous jeers of Turkish enemies⁶ or domestic malcontents.

As to the last scenes of the reign, the desire with which Nicetas credits Irene of seeing Alexius succeeded not by John but by Anna and Bryennius is not mentioned by Zonaras, who

¹ III. 2, p. 75.

² C. Neumann (*Gr. Geschichtsschr.* p. 20) says: 'die Kaiserin [Irene] stand gegen den Kaiser', largely because Alexius wished to humble the Ducas and other great families who had put him on the throne.

³ III. 2, p. 72.

⁴ This tallies with Anna's account of why Alexius took her with him on campaigns; he needed her to rub his gouty feet, and also to ward off domestic dangers, 'unsleeping guard of the Emperor as she was'. To her daughter, Irene's reluctance to go with the army is an effect of modesty, which is with some little difficulty overcome by her devotion (XII. 3; XIII. 1; XIII. 4, p. 386; XIV. 4 and 5; XV. 1, 2, 3). The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* says that the virtues of Irene have been recorded in certain 'writings' (p. 182). Probably this refers to the *Hyle* and the *Alexias*.

Zonaras gives us the interesting information that Irene was alarming; people approached her husband when he was alone 'without fear', but she 'showed an imperious and severe nature and vehemently reproved the disorderly' (*Epit.* XVIII. 29). This agrees with *Al.* III. 3, p. 77 A and B.

⁵ XII. 3. So διαλοιδουμένους τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑποψιθυρίζοντας in XV. 3, p. 466. The lampoons of XIII. 1, p. 377, show the same spirit of criticism.

XV. 1. The Turks doubtless thought Alexius was shamming illness.

on the contrary represents the Empress (however fond she might be of her son-in-law) as hoping to reign herself,¹ while the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* merely alludes to it in a passage beginning 'There is a story', &c.² It is not too much to say that this whole conception of Irene's relation to her husband and of Anna's relation to them both is supported neither by good evidence nor even by probability.

A harder matter to fathom is Anna's great bitterness as to John, about whom Chalandon³ can predicate 'admiration presque générale'. She shows this from the first, when in a fashion half absurd and half pathetic she consoles herself with the thought that even in the cradle John was unattractive.⁴ 'The baby was swarthy in complexion⁵ with a broad brow, lean cheeks, and a nose neither snub nor curving into a hook, but as it were midway between the two. His eyes were dark and showed his secretiveness and sharpness (ὑποκαθήμενον ἡθὸς καὶ ὄξύ) as far as can be guessed from the body of an infant.' She takes pleasure in reflecting that much of the popular enthusiasm over her brother's birth was probably feigned, though she speaks as if his father's intention to 'bequeath to him the Empire of the Greeks' was perfectly natural.

Putting aside as unproved Nicetas' story that Anna hoped to succeed her father when he died, and accepting the assumption that her brother's rights seemed to her perfectly valid, however much she might regret his and their existence, we may well ask why she is so spiteful about John. She accuses him of having frustrated her father's achievements and ruined by his 'folly' an Empire which according to her he seized with brutal callousness as that father lay dying.⁶ As to preceding events, her dark hints about some one very near the Emperor who contributed largely to his ill health, possibly even by attempted poisoning,

¹ *Epit.* XVIII. 24. In chs. 26 and 29 he tells us of friction between Irene and John when she was ruling for Alexius and of her love for Anna and Bryennius (making the latter popular and John jealous), but never of any wish of hers for them to succeed. John 'feared for his throne and life' in connexion with his mother, because he thought that, relying on the support of her much loved son-in-law, she meant permanently to keep the reins of empire which her sick husband had delegated to her.

² p. 187.

³ *VI.* 8, p. 168.

⁴ *Jean II Comnène*, p. xxxiii, and ch. i.

⁵ William of Tyre, XV. 23, dwells on John's ugliness and dark colouring. Gibbon thinks 'Caloioannes' (his nickname) was ironical.

⁶ XIV. 3, p. 433; XV. 11, p. 503. Both Zonaras and Nicetas say that he did not attend Alexius' funeral, a display, in those days, of almost impious disrespect. The story of the signet-ring which he took off his father's hand as a sort of badge of sovereignty is told with different interpretations by Zonaras, Nicetas and *Anon. Syn. Chron.* Anna does not mention it. The importance of such a δακτύλιον comes out in IV. 5, p. 112.

are in truth so very dark as not to be comprehensible with any certainty.¹ She would like to rail against these *κακουργότατοι*, but she thinks better of it and leaves us to guess even as to who they are. In view however of her attitude towards the *διάδοχος* whom she hardly ever mentions and never favourably,² we may well believe first that by these 'bosom' enemies of her father she meant her brother John, secondly that Nicetas Acominatus is correct in saying that after his accession she welcomed the efforts of the imperial kinsmen (*τῶν ἐκ γένους*) to set her and her husband on the throne. Possibly from jealousy, possibly from some more creditable reason, Anna saw only an unworthy Emperor in John, about whose merits his father on the other hand can hardly say enough. To Alexius he seems endowed with every physical and mental quality, strength, beauty, brains, even the 'noble horsemanship' so dear to Byzantines as to ourselves.³ To Euthymius Zigabenus he is *κάλλιστον ἄνθος* of the Comnenus house,⁴ and Theodore Prodromus is almost nauseatingly fulsome in his praise.⁵ These may be interested witnesses on the one side, but we are bound to admit that in this matter Anna for all her staple profession of fair-mindedness is probably equally prejudiced on the other. Embittered by old disappointment over a fiancé and a crown together lost, filled with anger against the filial impiety of a brother whose very birth had overclouded her life, may she not when conspiring against him have seized on some real or fancied grievance in the hopes of driving him from the throne to which she never denied his rights? If this is so, we are surely entitled to hold the definite conviction that the picture drawn for us in the *Alexias* is true, that Anna and her mother truly loved Alexius, and that there is nothing but truth in her sorrowful words, 'the Emperor gave up his sacred soul to God, and my sun set.'⁶

¹ XIII. 9, p. 399; XIV. 4, p. 437; XV. 1, p. 462.

² As we have seen, she speaks disagreeably of him as a baby (VI. 8, p. 168), and there is acidity in her curt announcement of the birth of his son and heir (XII. 4, p. 356). Even in connexion with her husband who fought for and with him she has no word to say of the many victories which other writers ascribe to John (Pref. 3, p. 3). See, in connexion with the Patzinaks, p. 436, note 6, below.

³ *Mous. Alex.* II. 44 sqq.

⁴ Three poems, published C. Neumann, *Gr. Geschichtsschr.* pp. 33-5.

⁵ Poems, *passim*.

⁶ XV. 11, p. 505. Callicles (Poem XXV), represents John as mourning over his father's death, 7-9, and calling it *ἡλίου δύσις* (36).

38. OMISSIONS AND INCONSISTENCIES

ON the purely technical side of Anna's composition two points must not be left unnoticed, her omissions and her inconsistencies. First, her lacunae. At several places in the text there are blank spaces in the manuscript, such as when Alexius comes to 'the plains called —', and to a certain place lying —.¹ We are told that the devils were enraged with Basil the Bogomile for betraying to the Emperor — —;² presumably there should follow the name for their secret mysteries; was it deliberately omitted as *infandum*? Or are all these blanks to be explained as cases where she meant as we say to look the thing up, and either forgot or was hindered by the enforced seclusion of which she complains?³

Besides this, characters are sometimes introduced without names, e.g. 'the Count who was commandant', 'the man guarding this place', 'those of the priestly register whose names I omit'.⁴ This may be ignorance or mere forgetfulness: in one instance she says frankly that time has taken away her recollection of certain names.⁵ But over and over again we feel she is making deliberate omissions. It is not only that she revels as we have seen in mysterious self-pity. Even when she is not personally concerned we find her suppressing names that she must have known and hurrying over controversial incidents. What was the court scandal at which she hints, when a eunuch was able to stop an ex-Empress's marriage merely by saying *πολλὰ καὶ καίρια*?⁶ Why did Maria adopt⁷ Alexius, and did he really ever think of divorcing Irene to marry her?⁸ Who were the 'certain people' to whom Nicephorus Diogenes spoke *γνησιώτερον* of his plot and whom Alexius vainly tried to win over?⁹ When she is telling us how this same conspiracy spread to the highest ranks in the army and the state, including senators and the two nobles Cecaumenus Catacalo and Michael

¹ XV. 2, p. 464: 3, p. 469. A complete list of the lacunae (even omitting the last chapter of all, where the text from p. 500 D to the end of p. 507 C is in a very bad state) would be too lengthy to give here. We may signalize as examples those at I. 10, p. 24 A; VI. 7, p. 164 A; IX. 8, p. 262 B; X. 8, p. 292 C; XII. 5, p. 359 A; XIII. 1, p. 379 A; 10, p. 404 B; XIV. 3, p. 433 A; 5, p. 439 A; XV. 3, p. 467 A. In XI. 2, p. 315, an important number is missing after *σταδίους*.

² XV. 8, p. 489.

³ XIV. 7. If the seclusion was as strict as this, it makes the researches into archives which Oster predicates for her a figment of his imagination.

⁴ XI. 11, p. 340; XIV. 5, p. 439; XV. 7, p. 485.

⁵ V. 9, p. 148.

⁶ III. 2, p. 74.

⁸ III. 2, p. 72.

⁹ IX. 6, p. 257.

⁷ II. 1, p. 44.

Taronites, we come upon a lacuna of about thirty-four letters which by rights ought to contain the name of another banished suspect.¹ The incriminating letters found in Diogenes' tent are vaguely described as 'sent to him by certain people', but the fact that these people are *ἐκκριτοὶ ἅπαντες* is a source of great embarrassment to Alexius,² and it seems likely that Anna could have revealed their identity if she had chosen. She longs to catalogue all the *ἀγνώμονες* whose ingratitude filled her father's life with trouble, but she restrains her 'tongue and panting heart'. She declares that the 'folly of those who succeeded to the throne' stultified her father's achievements so that 'matters turned to confusion', but we look in vain for any explanation of the statement.³ 'The sedition of those at home', not further specified, is one of the great complications when the Crusaders are threatening to overthrow the Empire.⁴ Anna hints, 'so as not to tell everything', at a most sinister and powerful 'third cause' for her father's gout, a cause worse than accidents, worse even than worry from barbarian Franks; this was the constant presence near him of some one who 'did not come in contact with him just once and go away, but was present with him and clung to him like the worst kind of flavours in jars'. This man either actually or metaphorically tried to poison the Emperor and was only foiled by the vigilance of Irene. 'But,' says Anna, 'biting one's tongue one must check one's story and not stray from the straight road, even though that story is very desirous to leap up against the utter scoundrels.'⁵ Fear of these unspecified *ἐγκόλπιοι ἐχθροί* causes Alexius to send for the Empress during a lull in the Turkish campaign,⁶ and they doubtless are the *τινὲς τῶν ἐναντίων* who jeer at him for cowardice and infuriate not him but his wife.⁷ Perhaps some day the manuscript of a twelfth-century Procopius or Psellus may be discovered and may throw light on Anna's dark hints. Till then we can only enumerate them, and in default of a better accept the explanation offered by most critics, that at no time during the reigns of her brother and nephew did she feel safe in speaking out. That her mysteriousness is deliberate all must be inclined to admit, but whether it is a mere affectation or does in truth mask hidden treasures of information no human being can say.

¹ IX. 8, p. 262.

³ XIV. 3, pp. 431, 433.

⁵ XIV. 4, p. 437. A similar hint of treachery and attempted poison occurs in XII. 2, p. 352, where Irene as regards her husband is called 'a good antidote to the dangers of the banquet, and against harm in food a salutary medicine'.

⁶ XV. 1, p. 462.

IX. 8, p. 261.

⁴ XIV. 4, p. 434.

⁷ XV. 3, p. 466.

Next come the inconsistencies between different parts of her book. Here no occult motive can have been at work, neither love of mystery nor difficulty in getting at facts. She simply is inharmonious with her own self, and the one thing to which this points is a lack of careful revision.¹

One marked instance is the confused account of Alexius' robbing of the churches.² In V. 2 he seems to do the deed twice, once through his brother Isaac for fighting the Normans, once later in view of 'Scythian' enemies. Yet the one restitution narrated (in VI. 3) seems to have taken place soon after December 1, 1083, long before the Patzinak War of 1086, though 'raids of Scythians' are mentioned here also. Whatever these raids may have been,³ Anna leaves them undescribed.

Again Durazzo is mentioned as early as Book I and constantly afterwards, with the frequent comment that it is also called Epidamnus, but suddenly in XII. 9 she thinks fit to give a detailed account of its surroundings, adding further details in XIII. 3. The same is true of Philippopolis and Mount Haemus.⁴ Characters often come in on two occasions and are not described till the second.⁵ References are found to past statements that have never been made,⁶ and knowledge which the reader does not possess is presupposed,⁷ as for instance in the vexed question of Botaniates' heir.⁸ Fresh people appear and

¹ Inaccuracies, i.e. cases where she disagrees with facts known to us from other sources, do not come under this head, and are dealt with in various connexions as they come up.

² See p. 298, below.

³ Chalandon (*Alexis Ier.*, p. 37) speaks of their 'continuelles incursions'.

⁴ First described XIV. 8, after being mentioned as early as Books VI. and VII.

⁵ So Maria, Irene's mother, in II. 5, p. 54 and 6, p. 55; Patriarch Cosmas in II. 12, p. 68, and III. 3, p. 75; Bohemund, appearing first in I. 14, p. 34, but not called Saniscus till IV. 6, p. 115; Pacurianus, whose Grand Domestic is promised in II. 4, p. 70, and mentioned in IV. 6, p. 115, but has to be inferred in IV. 4, p. 108; Basil Curticius in I. 9, p. 21, and V. 5, p. 139, possibly also XII. 5, p. 359; Taticius, who plays a big part from IV. 4 onwards, but comes in as an unknown person might in IX. 9, p. 263. If the John Taronites of XIII. 1, p. 376, is the same as the one in X. 2, p. 273, and XII. 7, he is not described till his third appearance (but see Du Cange's note on the third passage).

⁶ Anna says Cantacuzenus' scouts 'were barbarians, as my story has already shown' (XIII. 5, p. 391); it is the first mention of the fact. The letter of Alexius to Henry of Germany refers to a previous 'agreement' of which we know nothing (III. 10, pp. 93, 94). A defeat of Cabasilas is alluded to but never described (XIII. 5, p. 390, and 7, p. 395).

⁷ Bohemund is made to speak of Norman defeats which Anna has never recorded (XIII. 12).

⁸ In II. 2 he chooses as his successor a kinsman, *Συναδηνός τις*, probably his brother-in-law Theodulus or a nephew. In II. 5 we hear of a young *ἐγγονος* of his, betrothed to Alexius' niece. In II. 12 he offers to adopt Alexius because he himself has 'neither son nor brother nor any near relation'. In IV. 5 Anna mentions the courage and in IV. 6 the death of a Nicephorus Synadenus as quite a new

play their part without a word of introduction and disappear again as abruptly, very much in the style of what some one has called the 'tantalizingly incomplete narratives' of the New Testament.¹ Contradictory assertions are made in different parts of the book,² two of them curiously enough about the Diogenes family. Anna first tells us that Leo Diogenes was killed in the Patzinak campaign and then, confusing him with his brother Constantine, that he fell at Antioch.³ At one point she describes Nicephorus Diogenes as a popular hero,⁴ at another she speaks of 'the hostility of all men' towards him and his family.⁵ Raymond de St. Gilles first appears as 'the Count Prebentzas', then as 'Isangeles', and there is not a word to show that they are the same person.⁶ Two slightly different accounts are given of Alexius' ransoming certain crusading counts from captivity in Cairo.⁷ When the Emperor uses Sacred Lots for the second time, Anna speaks as if it was a new and wonderful invention.⁸ In XI. 6 she promises us a description of Theodore Gabras' origin and character when she has already given it in VIII. 9. The story of Gregory Taronites is so inconsequent as to make one question whether his personality has not been confused with that of Gregory Gabras. At any rate he appears first as Gregory and then as Taronites, and we hear of his appointment to succeed the general Dabatenus in the Dukedom of Trebizond, whereas that district was still, when last mentioned, in the possession of Theodore Gabras, father of the other Gregory.⁹ Aspietes and Tzachas both appear to fall dead and

character, though he must have been related to the Synadenus of Book II, or identical with him if we assume a slip in the Christian name. See p. 31 above, note 2.

¹ e.g. Musaces in IX. 8, Alacaseus in X. 4, and Pegasius in X. 10; Bacchenos in XII. 7, and the second Contostephanus, who causes the name to be put abruptly in the plural, in XII. 8, p. 368, though this Stephanus Contostephanus is not mentioned individually till XIII. 7.

² e.g. Bohemund's fleet seems to be twice burnt (XIII. 2, p. 380, and 6, pp. 393, 394). Roger, Robert Guiscard's son, is in two places at once (I. 16, p. 37; III. 12, p. 97; V. 3, p. 131). Pargiaruch is Sultan before his father has died (VI. 10, p. 172; 12, p. 179).

³ VII. 3, p. 196; X. 2, p. 271; cf. Nic. Bry. I. 6, p. 20, and II. 29, p. 66.

⁴ IX. 6, p. 257, and 8, p. 261.

⁵ IX. 9, p. 264.

⁶ X. 8, p. 290; 11. p. 305. This is accepting Du Cange's identification of the two, but Prof. Grégoire believes (*Byzantion*, Tome III, 1926, pp. 511-17) that the κόμης Πρεβέντζας of X. 8 is not St. Gilles but the Πριγκιπάτος of XIII. 4. Bohemund's right-hand man sent ahead to prepare his way, as Bohemund after crossing in X. 8 does not come on to Constantinople till X. 11. See p. 465, note 2.

⁷ XI. 7, p. 328; XII. 1, p. 346; the name of Alexius' envoy differs in the two stories, though the same man may be meant, and we may assume the incident to be one, not two, as has been said above.

⁸ X. 2, p. 273; XV. 4, p. 471.

VIII. 9; XI. 6, p. 326; XII. 7.

some time afterwards reappear on the stage without explanation.¹

The town of Aulon (modern Avlona) is captured, before Robert Guiscard arrives in Illyria, by Bohemund,² who spends some little time there after his defeat at Larissa and before crossing to Italy.³ So it is to the flag planted 'as towards Aulon' that the Normans who wish to return home repair after the capture of Castoria.⁴ Yet as an essential preliminary to his second campaign Robert orders his sons Roger and Guy to take 'all the cavalry' and 'to be zealous to seize (κατασχεῖν)' this town. 'And they crossing over [from Italy] took it by assault.'⁵ When had the imperial troops recovered it? Anna does not say. In the same way Nicomedia is freed from Turks early in Alexius' reign,⁶ and is apparently open for the passage of Taticius and the imperial troops in VI. 10, p. 172. But a very short time afterwards⁷ we have the statement, made without explanation or comment, that the Turks ruling at Nicaea 'were holding the city of Nicomedes' and the Emperor wished to drive them out.⁸ And to give one more instance of inconsistency (in this case very trifling) we may observe that the causes alleged by Anna for Alexius' gout are various and are never given all together.⁹

In short, the whole composition of the work inclines us to believe first that it was not written, as the French would say, *tout d'un trait*,¹⁰ and that the different parts were not necessarily composed in their chronological order; secondly that the revision was never completely carried out, for what reason, whether

¹ IV. 6, p. 117, and XII. 2; IX. 3 and XI. 5. The solution may be in the case of Tzachas that νεκρός (like the 'lifeless' of Jane Austen and Thackeray) means not 'dead', but 'fainting', or as we might say 'for dead', which is possibly the real translation of Acts xx. 9, where Eutychus when νεκρός was revived by St. Paul. As to Aspietes we must suppose that in the earlier passage he does not 'give up his life' like the Zacharias with whom he is coupled, but merely πλήττεται καιρίαν, which we see from XII. 2, p. 350 does not invariably mean receiving a mortal blow, any more than ξέαιμος points to death.

² I. 14, p. 35; III. 12, p. 98. In IV. 2, p. 105; V. 3, p. 131, Anna writes as if Robert himself had taken it, but it is a clear case of 'qui facit per alium facit per se'. He seems to have touched there with his army (I. 14, p. 34; III. 12, p. 98; IV. 4, p. 108).

³ V. 7, p. 143; VI. 5, p. 158.

⁴ VI. 1, p. 153.

⁵ VI. 5, p. 159.

⁶ III. 11, p. 96.

⁷ VI. 10, p. 174.

⁸ We must assume that he succeeded, for in VII. 7, p. 205, four years later, we read of Abul Cassim 'arming against Nicomedia', and in X. 5, p. 282, of the Turks 'pressing on it' in their raids.

⁹ XIV. 4, and 7, p. 449; XV. 11, p. 496.

¹⁰ It is very striking, as we shall see further in Ch. 73, how Anna will use a word or phrase, which seems to be running in her head, very frequently for the space of a few chapters or of one Book, and then never again. This points to the same conclusion.

indifference or the inertia of old age or death itself, we do not know.

Fortunately, none of the questions involved are serious ones, except for the mystery about Anna's woes and Alexius' 'bosom enemies'; we are merely tantalized by being left in an ignorance that is in fact immaterial. Still, in a work that claims to be above all things a truthful record of the past, we must admit that omissions and inconsistencies, whether wilful or accidental and however small, do mar the perfection of the whole.

39. STATE OF THE EMPIRE IN 1081

WE must now consider Anna as a historian more in detail. We have pointed out that to her Alexius was above all the man who restored the Empire.¹ How did he do this? She would have said in four ways. At home he crushed rebellion; in the church he combated heresy; in the field his armies 'set up many trophies'; in the world at large he taught men to know once more what the Empire really meant. So that Anna's story of Alexius' achievements, together with our study based upon that story, falls naturally under four heads, Domestic, Ecclesiastical, Military, and Foreign Affairs. But before dealing with each topic we must consider what was the actual state of the Empire which in these four ways he had to widen.²

At the outset we may remind ourselves that from the nature of the case Anna's information is unique and invaluable. Whatever flaws there may be in her picture, no one else in her time could have drawn it at all, except her own husband, whose similar attempt was cut short by death. As the daughter of an Emperor and wife of a Caesar she was in a position to realize that the Empire needed three things, military successes, good diplomacy, and a strong internal government. We could wish perhaps that she had given us fewer battles and trials of heretics and more events in the daily life of monarch and subjects. But the fact remains that if we want to understand the Byzantine Empire of 1081 to 1118 we have no other picture which for vividness and detail can be mentioned in the same breath with the *Alexias*.

¹ I. 6, p. 16; VI. 11, pp. 175, 176; Nic. Bry. makes the same claim for Alexius (Pref., p. 12), who succeeded to the throne *ἐν καιροῖς δυσκόλοις*. See p. 241 above.

² C. Neumann (*Gr. Geschichtsschr.* p. 97) points out that, like Anna, Cinnamus claimed the whole Roman Empire for Constantinople; all the Western Emperors from Romulus Augustulus were *τύραννοι*. In his case it made him utterly indifferent to all geography and ethnography in the outside world.

For the marvellous advantages with which the Eastern Empire started we cannot do better than quote Diehl.¹

‘Placé au point de jonction de l’Asie et de l’Europe, intermédiaire naturel entre le monde asiatique et l’Occident, il se trouvait au point où venaient aboutir et se joindre toutes les grandes voies² commerciales alors fréquentées et connues. . . . Dans la mer Noire, par les ports de la Crimée il était à portée des routes fluviales du Dnieper et du Don, qui pénétraient profondément dans la Russie méridionale.’

Not only the capital but Cherson and other ports beside held an important commercial position—‘Thessalonique surtout, le centre économique le plus important d’Europe après Constantinople’. From North-East, East, and South-East traders brought their goods to or through the Eastern Empire. It remains to be seen how far its historical development corresponded to these great gifts of Nature.

After the days of Constantine the double Empire of East and West remained for nearly two centuries united in theory though separate in fact, while Visigoths and Huns in turn had their day and ceased to be. Under Zeno I (474–91) the Western Empire was extinguished, and the Roman Senate sent to the Eastern Emperor acknowledging him as ruler of East and West alike. The result was exactly contrary to what might have been expected. Theodoric the Ostrogoth was appointed Zeno’s deputy at Ravenna, and except for a brief interval under Justinian who reigned 527–65 and reconquered Africa, Italy, and Spain, the Emperors at Byzantium never had more than nominal power West of the Adriatic.

Great dangers soon threatened the Empire. Within fifty years of Justinian’s death not only had the Lombards conquered most of Italy, but the Persians whom he had held at bay had ravaged all Asia Minor, and the Slavs had poured in over the Danube. Heraclius (610–41) cleared Asia Minor, and even conquered Persia itself, while in 626 a large body of Avars and Slavs were beaten back from Constantinople and retired across the Danube. But in 634 he was totally defeated beyond Jordan by a horde of Saracens, who proceeded to conquer Syria and Egypt and finally in 697 took Carthage, the Empire’s last stronghold in Africa. The Eastern Empire seemed doomed to extinction, till in 717 a first-rate general, Leo the Isaurian, seized the throne and repelled from Constantinople the ‘grand

¹ *Byzance*, pp. 87 sq.

² e.g. the Via Egnatia.

army of the Saracens', thereby proving himself, as Oman¹ points out, more really the deliverer of Europe than his contemporary Charles Martel, who merely 'turned back a plundering horde sent out from an outlying province of the Caliphate'. Asia Minor was freed from the Saracens, and till the Turks appeared in the tenth century the imperial power remained supreme there. When under Leo's son Constantine V (741-75) the exarchate of Ravenna was captured by the Lombards, this loss seemed small compared to victories over Saracens in the East and Slavs and Bulgarians in the Balkan Peninsula. The final separation between Rome and Constantinople came in 800, when Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne as Emperor of the West; but here again the Byzantines were too much occupied with the domestic and ecclesiastical activities of their ruler the Empress Irene to pay much heed to this epoch-making event.

As years went on, both the Emperors Leo VI (886-911) and Constantine VII (912-59) had leisure to write about foreign policies and wars instead of desperately conducting them. During their reigns and for a century after, the commercial importance of Constantinople as the principal market or clearing-house between East and West was unique. She was indeed great both in peace and in war, for Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes were successful against the Saracens in Cilicia and Northern Syria as well as in Crete and Cyprus, and also against the Russians in Eastern Bulgaria, and when their ward Basil II finally came to rule alone (976-1025) he gained great triumphs in the Balkans, as his surname of Bulgaroctonos shows. In the regions of Southern Italy, though Sicily remained in the hands of the Saracens, who had captured Syracuse its last important stronghold in 878, he gave to the imperial power a new if delusive appearance of stability, and in Armenia he added certain districts to the Eastern provinces. But this was to be for many years the last display of Byzantine prowess.

Under Zoe and her three husbands and one adopted son Serbia revolted, the Patzinaks made raids across the Danube, the Normans as a formidable new enemy conquered the Theme of Longobardia (Byzantium's last possession West of the Adriatic), and the Seljuq Turks first appeared on the Armenian frontiers. With Zoe and her sister Theodora the Basilian dynasty of 190 years ended, and twenty-four years of anarchy (1057-81) left the Empire shrunken in territory and crippled in resources. The capture of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes

¹ *Byzantine Empire*, p. 187.

by the Seljuqs at Manzikert in 1071 (the very same year that the Normans took Bari, the last imperial town in Italy) was a disaster unparalleled in Byzantine history. His Turkish conquerors spread Westward right to the Aegean and Propontis, and it was left for Alexius I, as Oman points out, to drag the Empire out of the deepest slough of degradation and ruin into which it had ever sunk. Of the whole realm which had once spread, so Anna would have us believe, from the Pillars of Heracles to the Pillars of Dionysus, including the Troglodytes on the South and Thule on the North,¹ there only remained secure to him Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. The Byzantine emperors had for centuries been standing more and more on the defensive, and when Alexius came to the throne he found himself with his back against the wall.

Thanks largely to his vigour and prudence, the Empire during this reign was extended North, South, and West, to the Danube, to Cilicia, and to the Adriatic. To the East and South-East in Asia Minor the 'great scarcity of men to prevent' the Moslem inroads was in part set right by the unwitting aid of the Crusaders, and the new Frankish and Armenian principalities acted as buffers between the Greeks and the Turks. It was not in human power to foretell that the worst misgivings of the Byzantines would be fulfilled, and that within a hundred years other Crusaders would seize the Empire their predecessors had assisted, and would be conveyed by Venetian seamen whose power Alexius' own concessions had so disastrously increased.

Even without being his daughter any biographer of this Emperor must admit his indomitable energy and persistence and the substantial advantages which he gained for his realm both in diplomacy and war. His achievements according to her were only nullified by the 'folly of those who got the sceptre after him', and 'with the Emperor sank all better things'.² The 'slavish' nations whom he had restrained by his constant labours from their assault on the Empire of the Greeks, 'by nature mistress of all other races',³ were able after his death to work their wicked will once more.

But as to the abject state of affairs, due to the ineptitude of his predecessors, when her father came to the throne in 1081, Anna can hardly find strong enough words. The Emperor 'was grieved and distressed because the Empire of the Greeks

¹ VI. 11, p. 176.

² XIV. 3, p. 433. Anna uses the neat phrase *κενόςπουδος αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή*; as a matter of fact this statement is hard to reconcile with John's military strenuousness as mentioned by herself in Pref. 3, pp. 4, 5. Perhaps she is alluding to the wasteful wars of Manuel, unprofitable even when successful.

³ XIV. 7, p. 445.

had no adequate army . . . and in the treasuries of the Palace there were no heaps of money stored up. For those who had reigned before him being utterly unsuited by disposition (*λίαν ἀτέχνως διατεθέντες*) for warlike and military concerns had brought the affairs of the Greeks truly to a bad pass.¹ I at least have heard from actual soldiers and from some older men that none of the cities for ages past had been brought into such a state of abjectness.² Or as she tersely puts it later on: 'Affairs were in desperate straits, with weakness and poverty together oppressing the Empire of the Greeks.'³ Once again she says of her father: 'He possessed neither troops nor money, for everything had been sacrificed, wasted on things of no profit.'⁴ No wonder that his only hope was to attack the problem gradually, facing his enemies successively, and trying in some way to dispose of the less important first.⁵ After the Turks had been temporarily subdued and Robert Guiscard had died and the Patzinaks and Comans had been repelled, the Empire might have looked for rest, but for the Crusaders with their troubling of the Empire and their stirring up of the Turks, so that Anna's bitterness against them is great. She could truly say of Alexius that 'not even for a short space did he partake of repose all through the time of his reign, because ever fresh enemies kept springing up continually',⁶ but all the others paled before the sinister importance of 'the Celts'. However, with the military and foreign events of his reign we are not now concerned; we will turn to his problems at home.

If Alexius found his path in 1081 bristling with foreign enemies,⁷ the internal condition of the Empire was hardly less deplorable: an empty treasury, an army so reduced by the short-sighted economies of his predecessors as to consist mainly of foreign mercenaries, the capital hardened to the sight of blood and revolution, and the country population both harried by hostile raiders and oppressed by the great provincial landowners. The picture is dark indeed.

¹ It is an interesting inconsistency when Anna in another passage, wishing to exalt her father's military merits, says that 'things in former days and the circumstances of the Empire before our times were very easy and considerably lighter' (XIV. 7, p. 445).

² III. 9, p. 91.

³ V. 1, p. 127.

⁴ III. 11, p. 96.

⁵ VI. 11, p. 175.

⁶ XIV. 4, p. 433.

⁷ Oster (*A. K.*, Pt. I, p. 1) has pointed out that in 1081 the Empire was 'ohne Freunde, ohne Bundgenossen'; hence came Alexius efforts to get allies (III. 10). By the year 1108 he was in friendly diplomatic relations with the Serbians, the Pope, the Hungarians, and at least one prince from South Italy, for we read of their having ambassadors (*ἀποκρισιάρχαι*) at his court (XIII. 12, p. 416).

40. ACCOUNT OF PAST EMPERORS

AT this point it may be well to consider the information which Anna gives us about her father's precursors on the throne, corresponding as it does very closely with what we learn from other historians.

For Nicephorus Botaniates, whom her father first served and then deserted, she evinces chiefly contempt; he is a spendthrift, old and vacillating and ruled by his slaves, and his unjust desire to keep the crown from Constantine Ducas has brought its own punishment.¹ The man responsible for the Empire's ruin² is to her Romanus Diogenes (1067-71), whose ill-fated figure looms large in her vision. She says (not quite accurately) that her husband began his book with that reign, over which 'various historians' had laboured.³ Under him Alexius first turned to a military career.⁴ (We may note that his kindness to her grandmother Anna Dalassena in this matter is far less dwelt upon by Anna than by her husband in his work.) His defeat at Manzikert was a death-knell to the 'Roman' State, and he seems to Anna so great a personage that even the fortunes of his sons are narrated in much detail.⁵ In less important matters we learn that he chose an excellent site for a palace outside Constantinople, and admired the elder Nicephorus Bryennius so much that he adopted him as a brother; also that he issued gold coins with his effigy.⁶ His blinding seemed such an outrage to one at least of his devoted followers that he made it an excuse for rebelling.⁷ When in his last campaign Alexius is victorious over Saisan, the Turks agree that their territories are to return to the state they were in before the defeat of Romanus

¹ Bk. II, *passim*; III. 4; V. 1. The same view is taken by the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* pp. 171, 172. Constantine Manasses (*Syn. Chron.* lines 6717-19) puts the opinion of his day (the reign of Manuel) about Botaniates thus: he loved luxury,

τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πάρεργα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἡγεῖτο
καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄρια στενοῖντο τοῖς βαρβάροις
καὶ ἐλεπόλεσι πολλαὶ πόλεις κριοκοποῖντο.

Nicephorus Bryennius tells us he committed a crime almost unknown in Byzantine history by debasing the coinage (*Hyle*, IV. 1, p. 87). Attaliates is this Emperor's one champion.

² Scylitzes assigns this sinister role to Michael VII (p. 856).

³ Pref. 3, p. 4; IX. 6, p. 255. Psellus speaks eloquently of his rashness and reckless self-confidence (*Chron.*, Rom. IV, Byz. T., pp. 248 sqq.).

⁴ I. 1, p. 3.

⁵ Books VII and IX.

⁶ II. 8, p. 61; III. 10, p. 94 and Du Cange's note; X. 3.

⁷ VI. 9, p. 169. It is well known what a guilty conscience Psellus has about this blinding, and how he strives to clear Michael VII from all complicity.

Diogenes.¹ And in her penultimate chapter the same Emperor is brought in as the cause of the terrible desolation still prevailing in Asia Minor.²

Among her other references to past emperors we find eight to Constantine the Great; the Forum at Constantinople bears his name, he built the theatre otherwise called Hippodrome or Circus, and appropriated a statue of Apollo as representing himself. His mother St. Helena built a church 'in his name' at Apollonias, and his right to be called the Thirteenth Apostle can be disputed only by Alexius himself.³ Anastasius Dicorus, Emperor from 491 to 518, had dug a trench below Lake Baane.⁴ Basil II neglected learning, and in this statement Anna agrees with Psellus.⁵ Under this Emperor her paternal great-grandfather fought against the rebel Sclerus; his joint rule with his brother Constantine is mentioned in connexion with a Bulgarian king, and his prowess in marching into Asia is recorded.⁶ One of his early regents, John Tzimiscēs (969-76), *ἐκεῖνος θαυμάσιος*, also went across the straits and victoriously transported captive Manichaeans from Armenia to Thrace, to be guards against Scythian inroads.⁷ Zoe is only mentioned for the richness of her coffin,⁸ but the reign of her third husband, Constantine IX Monomachus, bad as it was for the morals⁹ of the court, marks the first beginning of that revival of learning which Anna's father consummated.¹⁰ We may note that though she speaks of the monastery of St. George built by this Constantine she never alludes to his *μουσεῖον τῆς νομοθετικῆς*¹¹ and his practical methods of encouraging letters. Still, she does not show the hatred for his anti-military spirit evinced by the soldier Cecaumenus, and merely says that Maniaces rebelled in his reign.¹²

¹ XV. 6, p. 478, referring to Manzikert, 1071.

² XV. 10, p. 495.

³ II. 5, p. 52, and 12, p. 68; VI. 10, p. 174; 13, p. 181; XII. 4, pp. 356, 357; XIV. 6, p. 444; 8, p. 453. We may note that this same title of Thirteenth Apostle was awarded to Constantine V Copronymus by the Iconoclastic Council of 753 (*Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 14).

⁴ X. 5, p. 282.

⁵ V. 8, p. 144; Psellus, *Chron.*, Basil II, Byz. T., p. 15.

⁶ XI. 1, p. 311; XII. 9, p. 371; XV. 10, p. 495.

⁷ XIV. 8; XV. 10, p. 495. Psellus calls him *ὁ μέγας ἐν βασιλευσάν Ἰωάννης ἐκεῖνος* (*Chron.*, Const. IX, Byz. T., p. 128), and says he increased to power the Empire of the Greeks (*ibid.*, Basil II, Byz. T., p. 1).

⁸ VI. 3.

⁹ III. 8, p. 87. Cf. Psellus' account of his amours.

¹⁰ V. 8, p. 144. Cf. Psellus, *Chron.*, Const. IX, Byz. T., p. 107.

¹¹ Attal. p. 21.

¹² V. 8, p. 144. Laurent, in his *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoudides*, pp. 50 sqq., points out how unfair the Byzantine historians have been to Monomachus. Cecaumenus is one of the worst. Psellus says most people of his time called him Euergetes (*Chron.*, Is. Comm., Byz. T., p. 215).

To her father's uncle the Emperor Isaac Comnenus there are only three allusions, two merely giving his relationship to some other person, one a long extract from Psellus about his war (successful largely owing to his personal valour) against the *Μυσσοί*, to which Anna adds an account of his building a church to St. Thecla in thanksgiving for a wonderful escape.¹ Probably Anna, like her paternal grandmother, felt bitterly towards Isaac for having resigned the throne prematurely and not secured the succession for a member of his own family.²

The man who actually did succeed him, Constantine X Ducas, only comes into the *Alexias* twice, and on both occasions merely as a father.³ But one of his sons, the Emperor Michael VII, plays a large part. He sends Alexius against Urselius and makes him *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*. It is against him that Nicephorus Bryennius originally rebels. When deposed he becomes first a monk and then an archbishop,⁴ but though he and his brothers deserve praise as *φιλολογώτατοι*, yet the harm done by his foolish betrothal of his son Constantine to Robert Guiscard's daughter outlasts his reign.⁵ On the strength of it Robert professes to invade the Empire solely to champion his daughter's rights and reinstate on the throne her future father-in-law, and an impostor is found to impersonate Michael, though Robert's own messenger sees the real ex-Emperor living in a monastery.⁶ Michael's wife Maria (married before his death to his successor Botaniates) and his son Constantine have each a considerable share in Anna's story, his wholly creditable, hers of a more doubtful character.⁷ We learn that Michael and his Ducas brothers consorted both with Psellus and with the philosopher Italus.⁸ Whatever he was to these same

¹ I. 3, p. 8; III. 8; XI. 1, p. 311; cf. Psellus, *Chron.*, Is. Comn., Byz. T., pp. 221 sqq.

² She gives no hint however of his haughty contempt to all, even his own relations (Psellus, *ibid.*, Byz. T., p. 224).

³ III. 2, p. 75; IV. 6, p. 116. Yet all the historians agree in representing his anti-military spirit as ruining the Empire (Laurent, *op. cit.* pp. 56-8). Oman (*Byz. Emp.* p. 250) says he 'disbanded no inconsiderable portion of the army and cut down the pay of the rest' in order to save money.

⁴ Nic. Bry. (III. 24, p. 84) says the Patriarch Thomas made him first a monk and then Metropolitan of Ephesus, *τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γινώσκων*.

⁵ I. 1, pp. 3, 4; 4, p. 9; 10, *passim*; II. 1, p. 43; V. 8, p. 145. In this last passage, during the struggles of the Greeks to keep the remnants of their Empire in Italy in the teeth of combined 'Latins and Italians' (i.e. Normans and Lombards), he makes an ill-judged choice of a diplomatic envoy and is lenient to his treachery.

⁶ I. 12 and 15; IV. 1, 2.

⁷ III. 1-4; VI. 8; IX. 5-8.

⁸ V. 8, p. 145. Glycas and Zonaras dwell contemptuously on Michael's preference of poor iambs to statecraft (*Bibl. Chron.* IV, p. 330; *Epit.* XVIII. 16). Constantine Manasses (6642-4) makes him out as a most zealous student, working for 'sleepless nights'. Cf. Theophylact (*P. G.* 126, col. 260). See above, p. 179.

full brothers and his uncle John, towards his Diogenes half-brothers he shows the harshness of fear, condemning them and their mother Eudocia¹ to a monastic life. A special kind of gold coin is named after him.²

Before we leave these matters of imperial history two points must be considered that concern Anna's immediate family. The first of these is her statement that her father was fourteen when his brother Manuel died.³ Chalandon as usual believes anybody rather than Anna, and says on the strength of some words of Zonaras that Alexius was seventy when he died in 1118.⁴ That puts his birth in 1048, so that when Romanus Diogenes who ascended the throne in 1067 was starting three years later on 'his great campaign against the Persians', which ended in the Manzikert disaster of 1071, Alexius would have been twenty-two. Now not only does Anna state definitely that he was fourteen when his brother Manuel died, and consideration for the bereft mother made Romanus Diogenes keep back this younger boy from going to the front with himself, but she uses the terms *νεανίσκος* and *μειράκιον*, which would have been grotesque applied to a man in his twenties. Also she dwells more than once on his *youth* at his accession,⁵ whereas if we take Zonaras literally he would in 1081 have been thirty-three. But as a matter of fact what Zonaras says is this:⁶ Alexius died 'having lived *ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντά που τὰ πάντα ἢ ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω*, and having reigned out of these 37 years 4 months and a few days'. Does not the vague turn of the phrase about the life, contrasting forcibly with the accurate calculation as to the reign, show that Zonaras was sure how long Alexius had reigned, but not sure how long he had lived? And after a strenuous reign of continual hardships, he may well have looked 'about seventy' when he was in fact (if we put his birth as Anna does in 1056) fully eight years younger.

The second question, that of the origin of the Comnenus family, concerns Anna's standards whether moral or intellectual only remotely, but it is remarkable that neither she nor her husband, fond as all Byzantines were of giving magnificent pedigrees to their characters, ever tell us anything about the Comneni. Are we to see in this the deliberate silence of a pride which could not bear to admit a humble origin? This is the

¹ IX. 6, p. 256. For his generosity to his Ducas kin see Psellus (*Chron.*, Mich. VII Byz. T., p. 263); it is only one of the many virtues which his old teacher belauds on page after page. He never mentions the disastrous Norman betrothal.

² XIII. 12, p. 414.

³ I. 1, p. 3.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 23.

⁵ III. 7, p. 85; 9, p. 91; II. 1, p. 96; V. 1, pp. 126, 127.

⁶ *Epit.* XVIII. 29.

view of G. Murnu,¹ and he is inclined to accept (though he cannot verify it) C. Hopf's quotation from Benjamin of Tudela to the effect that Alexius was descended from Vlachs, those nomads of the Balkan peninsula who, in the persons of the present-day Roumanians, still claim to be Romans in race, language, and descent.² Psellus puts the home of the Comnenus family at Comne near Adrianople, 'dans une région où l'élément vlaque dans ce temps-là devait être suffisamment représenté', as it was near the mountains. The Vlachs have been proved by N. Jorga and others to have had 'une situation privilégiée sous les Comnènes'. Anna merely mentions a Vlach 'χωρίον near Larissa',³ Vlach nomads enrolled as recruits in the Greek army,⁴ and 'a chosen man of the Vlachs' giving useful information to Alexius in war⁵—with other Vlachs performing the same function for his Coman enemies⁶; therefore nothing as to any 'privileged position' can be learned from her, and to a 'Roman' princess any half-breed nomadic stock would hardly be an ancestry to be proud of. But if Murnu is right in saying that the general Tzintziloukis who served Manuel I was a Vlach (according to his name, which being 'tout à fait vlaque et même dialectal' means 'five wolves'), then the Andronicus Tzintziluces of Anna's eleventh Book is another of the race. To him by Alexius' orders St. Gilles commits Laodicea, but he is besieged there by Tancred and famine forces him to surrender the town.⁷ His career is not glorious, but he at least seems to have been a trusted general, one who comes under what Murnu calls 'le régime de faveur des Comnènes'. Whether or no he was in Hopf's phrase a *Stammesgenoss* of Alexius we have not at present sufficient evidence to say.

¹ Paper read before the Congress of Byzantinology at Bukharest (*Acad. Roum. Bulletin*, Tome XI, pp. 212-6).

² As a matter of fact they had a considerable admixture of Slavonic blood, the name 'Vlach' being itself Slavonic. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were sometimes ruled by Bulgaria, sometimes by Byzantium.

³ V. 5, p. 138. The *Encycl. Brit.* points out that it is from Anna that we first hear of this Vlach settlement in Thessaly.

⁴ VIII. 3, p. 227.

⁵ X. 2, p. 274.

⁶ X. 3, p. 274. We must not forget that the *Strategicon* of Cecaumenus has a most violent diatribe against the Vlachs as false, treacherous, and cowardly (pp. 74, 75). Since the conquests of Basil II they had been nominally Greek subjects.

⁷ XI. 7, pp. 329, 330.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

41. FINANCE AND LAW

THE various details of Anna's gloomy picture of the Eastern Empire in 1081 must be considered in order, and as we have said, the subject falls naturally into four divisions, of which Internal Affairs constitute the first. What do we learn from Anna about the inner workings of the Empire?

It may be said at the beginning that she displays little interest in the financial conditions of her time, except in so far as they affect the army.¹ In the first of her many panegyrics over her father's achievements she excuses him on several grounds for not trying to fight the Turks and Normans simultaneously. First, even Heracles cannot engage two enemies at once; secondly, Alexius was young; thirdly, he found on his accession a desperate state of affairs. Things, as she loves to say, were *ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ*. The Empire after a considerable period of gradual decline was 'by now destroyed, and had come to the last gasp'; the new Emperor had 'no forces, no money, for everything had been already squandered, spent on nothing useful'.² Under Nicephorus Botaniates, so she says, the waste had been so colossal that the doors of the empty Treasury could freely be left open.³

As to the way Alexius repaired the waste she tells us little. We know that he later on recommended his son John not only to give unstintingly, but to 'receive unstintingly a stream' of money,⁴ and if we are to go by Chalandon this unstinted receiving by the sovereign reduced the subjects to bitter poverty. Anna however tells us nothing of that side; 'taxes' and 'confiscations' are mentioned vaguely, and on one occasion Church property is 'borrowed', but of the everyday financial administration in her father's time she gives no picture whatever. Yet

¹ Chalandon blames her for indifference to internal affairs as a whole.

² III. 9, p. 91; 11, p. 96.

³ V. 1, pp. 126, 127. See also VII. 7, p. 204.

⁴ *Mous. Alex.* I. 319. Zonaras (XVIII. 21, 22) and Glycas (IV, pp. 332, 333) talk darkly of 'unlawful' (*ἀναίτοις* or *ἀποτρόπαις*) ways by which Alexius exacted money from his subjects especially the upper classes, but they like Anna give no hint as to what 'lawful' ways would have been. Attaliates speaks of a burdensome corn monopoly (p. 202) as a feature of imperial finance. Leib (*op. cit.* pp. 86, 87) dwells on onerous taxes exacted even from pilgrims and clergy, and says that under Alexius I, 'L'arbitraire régnait dans les finances.' Zonaras again says (XVIII. 22) that Alexius found the coinage debased and exacted gold for taxes, while he made his payments in bronze, for which he melted down bronze objects. Theophylact speaks of subjects bringing yearly taxes, some silver, some gold, as quite the usual thing (*παρδ. βασ.* I. 1, *P. G.* 126, col. 253).

it must have been elaborate and extensive. We know from other sources how costly the Byzantine court-life must have been; the writings of Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) impress on us its sumptuousness even in the tenth century,¹ and in Anna's day Constantinople was still the queen of cities.

Again, the incessant wars of the eleventh century were an even greater drain on the imperial treasury. All the time the menace of 'barbarians' on the Eastern frontiers was growing more severe, and the government was torn between the desire to encourage small proprietors in Asia as against the formidable *δυνατοί* who weakened the central authority, and the necessity for having large bodies of armed men to repel invasion. Agriculture must be fostered, yet the Empire must be guarded. Attempts to repress the great landowners by forbidding them to buy out small proprietors had only driven them to conquest and constant frontier wars, till finally each great noble had a small army of trained slaves.² The autocratic Basil II had striven to put this down by heavy taxation of the rich and powerful,³ but, in spite of all, the *latifundia* had increased and with them the distress of the peasantry.⁴ Constantine Monomachus in his turn bled the rich, not for military purposes but for his own pleasures and to secure his own power, also earning the censure of all soldiers by accepting a tax in lieu of military service. None of all this does Anna mention, but it is certain that whatever had been taken in by Constantine IX was no less quickly poured out, and that after the intervening years of waste and anarchy Alexius found nothing in the treasury worth speaking of. No wonder that an imperial tax-gatherer carrying his collection in a *βαλάντιον* to Constantinople feared to be imprisoned if 'seen with empty hands by those of the imperial treasury'.⁵

Yet though the treasury was empty its officials were as

¹ Especially *De cerimoniis*. So Luitprand, the German envoy to Constantinople, marvelled over its splendour in 949.

² See note on slaves above, p. 53.

³ In a paper on *The attempt of the Arabs to conquer Asia Minor*, read by Sir Wm. Ramsay before the Congress of Byzantinology at Bukharest (*Acad. Roum. Bull.* Tome XI, p. 4), he attributes the survival of the Byzantine power in Asia Minor mainly to the sturdy character of the Anatolian peasantry and 'their resident lords', a great military aristocracy, and says: 'The explanation lies in economics, not in war. Defeat was made possible by waste and extravagance, over-taxation, wrong system of taxation. Every victorious Emperor from Augustus to John Komnenos was an economist, who conserved the immense resources of the Empire and applied them well.' This view hardly agrees with those quoted on p. 266, note 4, above.

⁴ Zonaras, XVII. 12, tells us that at one point, driven to desperation by imperial exactions, famine, and a plague of locusts, a whole neighbourhood of small-holders started to emigrate.

⁵ II. 6, p. 56.

numerous and important as ever. We know that the Grand Treasurer was called in the ninth century Logothete τοῦ γενικοῦ,¹ but by Anna's time he had got the title of Logothete τῶν σεκρέτων.² This word σέκρετα, taken straight from the Latin, has given rise to many commentaries. It seems to have been applied first to the Imperial Council, next to the rooms in the Palace where the various σεκρετικοί (of whom Bury enumerates eleven kinds) sat, and finally to the tribunal before which cases affecting the imperial finances were tried. The σέκρετον housed in a separate treasury-building called γενικόν was, according to Du Cange, known as τοῦ γενικοῦ, and its chief (with financial and judicial duties) as Logothete τοῦ γενικοῦ; but by loose usage he came to be called Logothete or προεστὼς τῶν σεκρέτων as though no other σέκρετα existed.³ It is in financial matters and judicial matters arising therefrom that Anna Dalassena has full authority by the Golden Bull as Regent in Alexius' absence.⁴ In this document even the word δημοσιακός, of 'public' remissions of fines, has like σέκρετον a financial flavour. In Byzantine Greek δημοσίον is a tax and δημοσιώνης a tax-gatherer, like the Latin *publicum* and *publicanus*, and the Tribunal τοῦ γενικοῦ or

¹ Bury, *Imperial Administration in the Ninth Century*, ch. C 4 (2).

² III. 1, p. 70, and see Du Cange's notes on III. 1, p. 70 A, III. 6, p. 84 B, 85 A, and VI. 3, p. 157 B. In VI. 3, p. 157, Alexius repays to the σέκρετον of [Christ] our Surety what he owed for stripping the Empress Zoe's coffin; here the word must refer to an ecclesiastical treasury. In XV. 7, p. 485 the σέκρετα of the Orphanage, where the accounts were kept, should be translated 'office'. Du Cange points out (note on III. 6, p. 84 B) that in legal parlance σεκρετικὸν ἀξίωμα came to mean 'senatorial rank'. The 'Great σέκρετον' is mentioned as the scene of part at least of the trial of Italus ('Trial of Italus,' *Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, Vol. II, p. 41).

³ In III. 1, p. 70, a nephew to Alexius by marriage is said to have held this post. In III. 6, p. 84, this official is called ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν διαικῶν τὰ σέκρετα.

⁴ III. 6. In the Golden Bull we may note the use of θέματα in its etymological meaning of 'things deposited' (we might render it 'Fisc'), whereas in XIII. 12 the singular is used throughout in the regular Byzantine sense of 'district'. The wording of the document is difficult. The sentence τῷ δὲ μηνὶ . . . ὁ δόξει ταύτῃ ποιεῖν shows that even in the 'month' which the Logothete τῶν σεκρέτων apparently dedicated to making 'promotions' and awarding 'dignities' in his own department, even then Anna Dalassena had 'full power to do what shall seem good to her'. The next sentence beginning ἀλλὰ καὶ seems at first sight to restrict her power, by enacting that previous arrangements shall stand. It is however possible to translate ἀλλὰ καὶ as 'Nay truly', in which case the sentence confirms instead of limiting her authority, and reads: 'Nay truly if some shall have been appointed to the Treasury or the Fisc [i.e. by the Empress Regent] and shall have gone on in succession and shall have been honoured with large or medium or small dignities, they shall be for the future permanent and not to be moved.' Then follows another ἀλλὰ καὶ ('nay truly' or 'furthermore') introducing a still stronger statement as to her powers. She is responsible to no one; her enactments, mostly to be made in writing and sealed with her own special seal, possess τὸ παντελῶς ἀλογοπράγητον, and to her 'the matters about the taxes and the expenses on behalf of the Empire' are wholly committed (III. 7, p. 85).

τὰ σέκρετα *par excellence* was often called δημοσιακά from the taxation-cases which were there tried. A similar combination of legal and financial powers is indicated in the passage where, after a rebellion in Cyprus has been put down, Alexius sends a man famed for 'justice, incorruptibility, and ταπεινοφροσύνη', to act as κριτὴς καὶ ἐξισωτής.¹ Du Cange in his note suggests that the rebellion had been due to oppressive taxation,² so that the duty of this official was to 'equalize' it, by making suitable assessments for all the towns in the island. Certainly after this we find Cyprus a sort of gold-mine from which the Emperor drew as he pleased, with a governor who counts among the sovereign's most important subordinates. Thus he orders the 'Duke' to supply not only ships to transport his envoys on a mission to Baldwin King of Jerusalem, but 'much money of all kinds, of every form and image, and of all kinds of materials for the gifts to the Counts'.³ The sum raised was so large that the envoys deposited it for safe keeping in the bishop's palace at Tripoli, and a threat of stopping all supplies from Cyprus is held over a recalcitrant vassal's head.⁴

Turning back to Constantinople we observe that in the case of Anna Dalassena her power was limited to finance and the legal matters arising therefrom. This is proved by the simultaneous appointment of her son Isaac to guard Constantinople.⁵ We know from Zonaras that her rule was hated⁶ as despotic, but we may well believe that her difficulties in balancing her budget were great. The same writer tells us that Alexius himself when in need of money cut down salaries and seized the property of senators and others.⁷ Over all the finances, however and whenever brought in, the Emperor had absolute control,⁸ and throughout the book Alexius' expenditure of 'sufficient money' (to say nothing of presents in kind, such as *objets d'art*, reliquaries, clothes, and even a candlestick) on

¹ IX. 2, p. 250.

² It is rather ominous to read in Nic. Acom. *John C.* 3, p. 7, of an under-secretary who grew rich ἐκ τοῦ τάσσειν φόρους.

³ XIV. 2, p. 424. 'Gold and silver and all sorts of garments' are specified on p. 428 in the same story.

⁴ XIV. 2, p. 428. The only other place mentioned as containing 'sufficient gold and money of the imperial treasuries' is Sinope on the Black Sea (VI. 9, p. 169).

⁵ IV. 4, p. 109.

⁶ *Epit.* XVIII. 24.

⁷ *Epit.* XVIII. 21 and 22; Glycas, IV, pp. 332, 333.

⁸ In the case of one confiscation from a convicted rebel, the man's 'very fine house' ἐδόθη πρὸς τὴν Αὔγουσαν, who magnanimously restored it to his wife (XII. 6, p. 362). On another occasion the confiscated property is given by Alexius to the army (VI. 2, p. 155). On the Emperor's lavishness see Chs. 16 and 17 above, and Ch. 55 below.

enemies and friends, on salaries and military pay and rewards and bribes, or to seal a treaty, would have strained a Fortunatus' purse.¹ It was presumably to have them 'registered' for taxation that Alexius professed to summon the Manichaeans, who for all their suspicions felt bound to come.² He considers himself at liberty to draw for his military schemes, which as he truly said 'wanted much money', on the 'gold and silver' of his family and friends.³ When this supply is exhausted he dares not try a general levy, 'despairing of the loyalty of the Greeks', so he appropriates Church treasures. In restoring this 'loan' he assigns 'a sufficient sum of gold brought in yearly by the collectors of taxes' to one σέκρετον, and 'a yearly income of sufficient money from the imperial treasuries' to the priests of one of the churches. The restoration is based on the ecclesiastical 'inventories' themselves.⁴ When the Venetians are rewarded for naval aid, they get⁵ not only 'many gifts' at the time but also a yearly 'χρυσίου ποσότητα ἱκανήν' for all their churches, and to St. Mark's is assigned all rents and taxes from certain workshops, wharves, and 'other pieces of real property' in Constantinople,⁶ 'and', Anna adds, 'what was even more, he made their trading free in all the lands under the sway of the Greeks, so that they could traffic uncontrolled and according to their own pleasure, and need not on account of a trading-tax or for any other tax brought in to the public treasury, contribute as much as one obol. They were outside all Greek authority.' Neither Anna nor her father was aware that this fatal concession, markedly strengthening the power of Venice, was a death-blow to the trade of Constantinople, which hereby and increasingly lost her century-long position as the great emporium between East and West.

Other instances of Alexius' frenzied finance occur from time to time and make us feel he is an autocrat indeed. Thus he is not only able to found a new town for the 'commoner sort' of his Manichaean converts at Philippopolis, but he can make donations to them of 'corn-lands and vineyards and houses', confirming these possessions (with power of bequest to descendants or wives) by a Golden Bull.⁷ He takes the same steps to make ἀναίρετον the landed property of his Orphanage,⁸ where he further-

¹ III. 10; XII. 1, p. 347; XIV. 2, p. 428; XV. 6, p. 480, &c.

² VI. 1, p. 154.

³ V. 1, 2; VI. 3, p. 156.

⁴ VI. 3,

⁵ VI. 5, pp. 161, 162.

⁶ See Du Cange's note on VI. 5, p. 161 D.

⁷ XIV. 9, p. 456.

⁸ XV. 7. It is regrettable that the charter of this institution should not have survived. See p. 113, above.

more spends enormous sums daily on the maintenance of old and infirm people with their attendants. We have already seen that in this case we are not told whether he purchased or confiscated the land that seemed specially suitable—only that he ‘quickly assigned’ it to his beneficiaries. Confiscation was, we know, a favourite punishment for political offences,¹ but the Orphanage seems to have been established in a period of calm. Doubtless the Emperor felt himself entitled to commandeer land, as he did money from his friends² and hospitality for visitors from compliant monks.³

We must repeat that ‘gifts’ is a word and an idea appearing in almost every chapter of the *Alexias*.⁴ A formidable ex-Empress, a would-be assassin, a rebel commandant, enemies and their leaders when they surrender or can be bought off, ransomed captives, deserving or needy or formidable allies, converted heretics, meritorious soldiers, new mercenaries, one and all receive ‘sufficient money’ or ‘plenteous gifts’.⁵ Even men sent to prison may count on the Emperor for bountiful maintenance.⁶ If his financial powers are unlimited so also are the demands upon him. Thus when a fortress has to be built in summer heat outside Nicomedia the Emperor acts as his own contractor, and draws workmen from all sides by ‘generous pay’.⁷ If he decides to spend large sums on his fleet, none can prevent him for all their criticism.⁸ The crusading chiefs are bribed into taking the oath of homage, either by money beforehand or by rewards afterwards,⁹ and sometimes in return for

¹ e.g. VI. 2 and 4, p. 157; VIII. 7, p. 236; IX. 8, p. 262; XII. 6. There must also have been cases of intestacy where properties escheated to the Crown.

² V. 2. It is interesting to find Irene making independent use of her own money in philanthropy in XII. 3, p. 354. Similarly Anna Dalassena is represented as rich enough to be lavishly hospitable (III. 8, p. 87).

³ X. 11, p. 302.

⁴ In his first poem to John, Alexius speaks of the handing on of the Emperor’s *δωρεαί* as one of a governor’s main duties (*Mous. Alex.* I. 342). Nicephorus Bryennius is as fully alive as Anna to the necessity for a prince’s well-being of great sums to engage mercenaries or reward successful generals (*Hyle*, I. 7, p. 21, &c).

⁵ III. 11, p. 97; IV. 2, pp. 105, 107; V. 1, p. 127; 2, p. 128; 3, p. 131; 7, p. 143; VI. 5, p. 160; 14, p. 183; VII. 1, p. 189; 6, p. 202; 8, p. 208; IX. 6, p. 256; 7, p. 260; X. 4, p. 281; XI. 1, p. 310; 2, pp. 313, 314, 315, 316; 7, *passim*; 8, p. 332; 11, p. 340; XII. 1, *passim*; 5, p. 357; 7, p. 365; XIII. 8, p. 399; 9, p. 401; XIV. 1, pp. 419, 422; 3, p. 431; 4, p. 434; 9, p. 456.

Bury (Appendix 12 to Vol. V of Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*) says that the Byzantine Emperors aimed at ‘making the Treasury full instead of the Empire rich’; with these never-ending and ill-regulated expenses falling on each Emperor’s shoulders it is difficult to see how they could have done otherwise.

⁶ V. 2, p. 130; VI. 7, p. 165; XIV. 9, p. 457.

⁷ X. 5, p. 283.

⁸ XII. 4, p. 356.

⁹ X. 7, p. 289; 9, p. 298; 11, p. 303, 304. In the last passage quoted Bohemund is won over by the sight of a room in the palace stored with goods and clothes

service annual subsidies are promised.¹ But over and above all Alexius and the other generals are in constant want of coin to pay their troops.² At the very outset Alexius when revolting against Botaniates writes to a hoped-for supporter: 'I need money and without it it is impossible for anything to turn out as it should.'³ On this same occasion his brother-in-law Palaeologus promises to contribute τὴν ἐν κινήτοις αὐτοῦ θεωρουμένην περιουσίαν (all fortunately laid up in one convenient spot), and John Ducas Caesar robs an imperial tax-gatherer in support of Alexius' cause.⁴ Rebellions are costly things, and the Anemas conspirators were fortunate in finding a rich accomplice from whose resources they went on 'drawing out of a golden stream'.⁵ Another considerable outlay is entailed by ransoming captured soldiers, a duty which the Emperor seems to take on himself.⁶ Thus it is probable that war was proportionally hardly less costly in the twelfth century than now. Yet of all the expenses of Alexius' reign Anna would have us think that the heaviest and the least rewarding lay in the large sums demanded for transporting the Crusaders to the Holy Land. He had given them innumerable gifts and heaps of gold, he had 'spent sums beyond all number', and the Empire had profited not at all.⁷ Whatever else Anna felt about finance, she knew at least that such an investment as this was unsound.

Before we pass on to another topic it may be interesting to note that though only six out of Alexius' Novels⁸ have to do directly with finance, yet these six are all most important. Novel 20 deals with fines in matters of contract, and with the reversion of a property without heirs. Novel 22 is the record of the Emperor's humble restitution of the Church property taken by him for military expenses, with an edict forbidding such spoliation for the future. Novel 30 grants the Island of Patmos to St. Christodulus for a monastery. Novels 32 and 36

and with gold, silver, and copper coin 'filling the chamber to such an extent that a man could not walk'. The successors of St. Gilles receive money bribes in XI. 8, p. 332, and XIV. 2.

¹ XI. 3, p. 315. In XIII. 12, p. 414 (*bis*), the payment is to be made in gold coins (λίτραι) of the Emperor Michael VII. Du Cange in his note points out that λίτραι (Latin *librae*) were synonymous with τάλαντα.

² Alexius gives all the 'properties' of the robbed Manichaeans to 'those who had toiled with him in the battles that befell' (VI. 2, p. 155). See above p. 269, note 8, and below, ch. 55.

³ I. 16, p. 39, and III. 9, p. 92.

⁴ II. 6, pp. 55, 56.

⁵ XII. 5, p. 359.

⁶ VII. 2, p. 190; 3, p. 199; 4, p. 200. In VII. 6, p. 203, he buys back from the Patzinaks the head of the son of his general Migidenus.

⁷ XIV. 2, pp. 422, 423.

⁸ Coll. IV in Vol. III of Zachariae v. Lingenthal's *Jus Gr.-Rom.*

make concessions to the Venetians and Pisans respectively, while Novel 34 contains the invaluable 'Rescripta ad rationales et rationarium antiquum et novum'. We may also note that according to Zachariae von Lingenthal¹ the old custom of tax-collecting by the state had by Alexius' day been changed into that of annual farming. Anna with her marked indifference to all such details tells us not one word of all this,² and her father's enactments become all the more indispensable as sources of knowledge.

Turning now to legislative matters, we may note that of Alexius' endeavours to prevent disorder in his Empire by law-making rather than to punish it half-heartedly when rampant we hear little either in the *Alexias* or in the Novels themselves; from the nature of the case his justice (or injustice) was chiefly of a financial kind. Chalandon states that he was compelled to raise money by various unpopular means, not only the spoliation of Church treasure, but also the exaction of heavy taxes even from the clergy, while in order to reward his partisans 'il eut recours aux biens des couvents et les distribua à titre de bénéfices'.³ Anna never mentions this, and the only lasting confiscations she speaks of are from criminals. Only twice does she allude to any legal enactments at all, once when she says that the secretary John Taronites used freely to criticize τὰ βασιλέως προστάγματα,⁴ and again when she says that as soon as external and internal disturbances were quieted Alexius turned 'to law-courts and laws', being 'the best dispenser both of peace and war'.⁵ Unfortunately his dispensing of peace interests her less than the other, and she rarely even draws her figures of speech from the law-courts. One of the few instances may be given here. In telling how Alexius justified before a 'great assembly' his action in taking Church property for his cam-

¹ *Gesch. des gr.-röm. Rechts*, p. 236. The old system apparently prevailed under Botaniates, *Al.* II. 6, p. 56.

² The latest contribution to the study of Byzantine finance is F. Dölger's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrh.* (*Byz. Arch.* 1927) in which he re-edits with introduction and commentary the manuscript (Cod. marc. gr. 173) which W. Ashburner had already published without notes in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. He gives four reasons for the special difficulties presented by Byzantine constitutional history: (a) Paucity of material; (b) Religious preoccupation of most chroniclers; (c) Purist dread of technical terms, causing an 'Unart der unscharfen Bezeichnung'; (d) Unreliable editions. In connexion with the manuscript, which he cannot date more precisely than between 913 and 1139, he gives a full description of the various offices associated with the imperial finance.

³ *op. cit.* ch. X, p. 282.

⁴ XIII. 1, p. 376.

⁵ XIV. 7, p. 449. Zonaras (XVIII. 26) amplifies this by saying that Alexius appointed days when he sat and received judicial petitions, which his ὑπογραμματοεῖς read and answered.

paigns (elsewhere euphemistically called 'collecting money with the public consent from all possible sources, according both to the laws and to justice')¹ she says,² 'In appearance he sat as a judge on the imperial throne, but in truth he himself was about to be examined. . . . The Emperor sets himself plainly forth as on trial (*ὑπόδικος*), and sets as judge any who would.' As the proceedings seem to have consisted of a monologue on Alexius' part, while we hear nothing of what the *συνέδριον* said or thought, it is obvious that this was not a 'trial' in any ordinary sense, and that the word is used merely by analogy.

One legal phrase does occur in Anna's pages too frequently to make references necessary. 'To gain a victory' is almost always *τὴν νικῶσαν ἔχειν*, the word implied being *γνώμην*, the *victrix sententia* of a law-court. In one instance the metaphor is completed by the use of a word for voting, *εἰ τὴν νικῶσαν ἡμῶν ἐπιψηφίεται Θεός*.³

This rapid survey must suffice. Neither in finance nor in law as such did Anna take any interest; they only appealed to her as providing the material and mental sinews of war for her father's incessant contests.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

42. SENATE AND OFFICIALS

WE will now turn to more definitely constitutional matters. In a highly important passage Zonaras represents Alexius as oppressing the Senate;⁴ Anna does not say this in so many words, but we cannot fail to see that some of the worst conspiracies of the reign are due wholly or in part to senators, and this argues the Emperor's unpopularity with that body.⁵ It is equally noteworthy that Alexius never resorts to severe punishment.

It has often been discussed how much power the senators retained in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Constanti-

¹ V. 2, p. 129.

² VI. 3, p. 156.

³ IV. 5, p. 114. In XV. 11, p. 497 we have *τῶν πλείονων ἡ ψῆφος ἐκράτει*.

⁴ *Epit.* XVIII. 29. Botaniates would seem to have kept on good terms with the Senate (Attal. pp. 308, 318) and John Comnenus cultivated it in order to counterbalance Irene's power (Glycas, IV, p. 334).

⁵ VI. 4, p. 157; IX. 6, p. 257; XII. 5, p. 359. On the occasion of the first conspiracy Zonaras (XVIII. 22) represents Alexius as having seized men (whose innocence the writer implies) simply 'in order that he might rob them of their property'.

nople. Theoretically they still had an important part in choosing the Emperor; practically heredity or military usurpation was the usual determining factor, and the Senate did little more than ratify.¹ Theoretically they had ceased to have legislative power since the days of Leo VI; practically they help to pass decrees, in matters of heresy at least, and join the clergy or the army in an arraignment of their Emperor necessitated by popular discontent.² Attaliates speaks of Botaniates reading a Novel before them and getting their approval.³ The same writer rates their number as *ὑπὲρ μυριάδας*.⁴ Psellus⁵ tells us that both Constantine IX Monomachus and Constantine X Ducas democratized the Senate, admitting artisans and barbarians and even slaves. With its aid the civil government hoped to make head against the power of the army, but when a military usurper came to the throne his sympathies were naturally with the troops that had placed him there. So throughout the *Alexias* we find the Senate more or less in opposition, and we can well credit Zonaras' statement that Alexius 'was zealous to humble' its members.⁶ But the matter is complicated by Anna's vague use of the word *συγκλητικός* to mean any one of rank and importance, (one of the class equally indefinitely termed *τῆς μείζονος τύχης*), and especially one of the innumerable court functionaries whom the Emperor personally appointed and personally paid.⁷ The high-born land-owning families⁸ to whom the Comneni themselves seem to have belonged were still important members of the 'senatorial register',⁹ and we have more than one indication that Alexius partly hated and partly feared his formidable peers.¹⁰ It may not have been altogether unpleasing to his ear when Gregory Taronites

¹ Nicephorus Bryennius (*Hyle*, I. 22, p. 34) describes the *λογάδες τῆς συγκλήτου* coming together to discuss affairs in the struggle for the throne between Michael Ducas and Romanus Diogenes.

² VI. 3; XV. 8, p. 488: 9, p. 491, and see the 'Trial of Italus' in *Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, Vol. II, p. 42.

³ p. 314.

⁴ p. 275.

⁵ *Chron.*, Const. IX. and Const. X. Byz. T. pp. 151 and 238. Under Constantine IX *ἡ σύγκλητος διέφθαρτο*, while Constantine X *ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ μεσότοιχον* between *τὸ πολιτικὸν γένος* καὶ *τὸ συγκλητικόν*. The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* describes Botaniates as going still further in this *ὑβρις τῆς συγκλήτου*, p. 171.

⁶ *Epit.* XVIII. 29.

⁷ Attal., p. 122, tells us that Romanus Diogenes 'made the yearly gifts which were attached to the Senatorial dignities' (*ἀξιώματα*). *τύχη* in the non-classical sense of 'rank' appears repeatedly in the *Alexias*.

⁸ P. Grenier, *Emp. Byz.* Vol. II, p. 27.

⁹ In III. 6, p. 83, to become part of *ὁ συγκλητικός κατάλογος* is a synonym (in a nobleman's life) for attaining man's estate.

¹⁰ e.g. the Bryennii in II. 6, p. 57 (accounting perhaps for Anna's marriage of policy) and the Ducas family in III. 2.

wrote him 'a long letter attacking the leaders of the Senate', and this may account in a measure for the curious indulgence with which this turbulent noble was treated by the Emperor.¹ On other occasions we find the Senate, true to its old name of βουλή, called together to advise the Emperor on matters of peace or war or to ratify some decision of his.² They receive 'gifts and honours' at the birth of an imperial heir,³ and in short form a rather indefinite luminous circle round the central authority.

Of special officials of many kinds, doubtless all drawn from this senatorial register, we find no lack in Anna's pages. The titles of Caesar or Sebastos, Sebastocrator, Protosebastos, and Panhypersebastos, some of them invented by Alexius, were mostly reserved for members by birth or marriage of the imperial family and did not confer any office⁴; that of νωβελίσμιος or πρωτονωβελίσμιος figures as a reward for service and might be given to a foreigner.⁵ The posts of Great Drungary of the Fleet and Domestic of the Schools of East or West will be mentioned again when we come to military matters.

¹ XII. 7. The whole story is rather mysterious, and the fact that Alexius' sister had married one of the Taronites family (III. 4, p. 78) does not explain away the many difficulties. Why, if meditating ἀποστασία, should Gregory imprison his predecessor Dabatenus who was departing for Constantinople and had therefore, one might have thought, ceased to be a danger? Did the Emperor know of his rebellious feeling and send him to virtual exile on the Black Sea, like Theodore Gabras in VIII. 9? What was his quarrel not only with the army but with the Senate and the imperial kinsfolk, one of whom, Alexius' nephew, was his own first cousin? And above all, what was his secret power that made this said cousin afraid of being considered his partisan and caused Alexius to treat him as, long before, he had treated Urselius, merely pretending to blind him, so as in some way to satisfy public opinion? and why at the very end was the Emperor able to forgive him openly and shower benefits on him? We turn in vain for light on the subject to the three letters of Archbishop Theophylact to Gregory Taronites and one to Serblias mentioning him (Ser. II, Epp. 4, 26, 37, and Ser. I, Ep. 8, P. G. 126, cols. 364, 409, 432, and earlier 321). In all these Taronites appears as a person of great importance, great in peace and war, not only in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea and 'the chief town of the Colchi' (presumably Trebizond), but also in Macedonia, sending instructions to the governor of Berrhoea. His return from Colchis, clearly not the enforced return described by Anna, is a great sorrow to the people there, though a great gain to the Emperor who has in him a watchful guard and counsellor. Alexius will reward his 'good counsel and bravery', and has indeed, with his usual insight into character, always put him 'above all men'. How and when did this man become a rebel who had to be imprisoned ἐπὶ πλείονα καιρόν before being pardoned? See p. 96, note 3, above, and p. 374, below.

² II. 5, p. 52; XIV. 2, p. 424. It is ἐκ μέσης συγκλήτου that Alexius is proclaimed σεβαστός under Botaniates (I. 9, p. 22).

³ VI. 8, p. 167.

⁴ I. 9, p. 22; III. 4. In X. 9, and elsewhere καῖσαρ is used regularly of Nic. Bryennius (XIII. 11, p. 405). Callicles (Poem XXXII. 34), makes a dead Norman prince say: τῷ τῶν σεβαστῶν ἄξονι προσέγραψεν; he seems to have married into the imperial house. See p. 453, note 6, below.

⁵ VII. 8, p. 208; X. 3, p. 274; XIII. 8, p. 399, and 12, p. 416.

In civil affairs the Prefect (ἐπαρχος) of Constantinople¹ seems to have been an important personage, and we have already spoken of another very responsible official, the Logothete τῶν σεκρέτων, as well as of the secretaries and the keeper of the inkstand. Alexius was 'honoured' by Botaniates 'with the dignity τῶν προέδρων', and Du Cange defines this body as *consiliarii consilii secretioris*.² It is the πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν ἀξιωματῶν, 'chief of official dignitaries,' who is sent by Alexius to administer a treaty-oath to Henry of Germany.³ The office of Great Primicerius, which according to Bury was in the early tenth century merely that of eunuch of the bed-chamber,⁴ seems in Anna's days to have involved command over certain Turkish auxiliaries.⁵ In the first campaign against Robert Guiscard we also read of a special corps of βεστιάριται, 'officers of the wardrobe', who are among the Emperor's 'intimates'.⁶ Originally their functions were confined to the Palace, and were often purely honorary; thus Maria the Bulgarian, daughter-in-law of John Ducas Caesar and mother of the Empress Irene, held the rank of πρωτοβεστιάρια.⁷ The giving of such titles of rank without any duties attached had, so Bury tells us,⁸ become gradually more and more a feature of Byzantine life. Subordinate officials became co-ordinate and independent, and titles of offices became mere grades of rank. Thus Alexius writes of sending twenty such honorary ἀξιώματα accompanied by solid cash to Henry of Germany,⁹ while the rank of Protosebastos conferred on the Doge, and of ὑπέρτιμος on the Venetian Patriarch, similarly bring in both cases the appropriate ρόγα¹⁰ but no court duties. Enemies actual or potential are thus honoured. Sometimes the comprehensive phrase παντοῖαι τιμαί is used, sometimes the exact form of honour is specified. Thus one Turk is made Duke of Anchialus, another becomes Sebastos, as does Bohemund,¹¹ though his demand for the military prize of the Domesticate of the East is not

¹ III. 1, pp. 71, 71; XII. 4, p. 355; 5, p. 360; XIII. 1, p. 376. ² II. 1, p. 43.

³ III. 10, p. 94. This word κατεπάνω was the regular title for a military governor in the Theme of Lombardy.

⁴ *Imp. Admin. System*, ch. D. 1 (5).

⁵ IV. 4, p. 109.

⁶ *Ibid.* Many of these official names meet us in the Novel of Alexius concerning images and Bishop Leo (Novel 22, *P. G.* 127, cols. 972-84), i. e. the Eparch, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, the Primicerius, &c.

⁷ II. 5, p. 54; VI. 8, p. 166. Dölger however believes that the βεστιάριται were originally military guards and afterwards had civil employment. He thinks the name, which he cannot explain, had only a late and accidental connexion with the imperial βεστιάριον or 'Reichszeughaus' (*op. cit.* pp. 31 sqq.).

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ III. 10, p. 94.

¹⁰ VI. 5, p. 161.

¹¹ VI. 9, p. 171; 10, p. 174; XIV. 1, p. 419. For 'honours' in general, X. 11, p. 304, and constantly elsewhere.

unnaturally ignored.¹ Finally, the Byzantine equivalent of our Birthday Honours bestowed on 'chiefs of the Senate and army' marks auspicious events in the imperial family.²

Governorships of important towns or provinces might be either signs of favour or a polite form of exile,³ but this takes us away from our present subject. In Constantinople itself other officials mentioned by Anna are the ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων,⁴ one body vaguely termed οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως, who seem to have done the work of marshals,⁵ and another set of τὰ τῶν κοινῶν διοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ πόλει, who corresponded to our police officers.⁶ There are also quartermasters for superintending food supplies,⁷ attendants on the table or the bedchamber, court cooks and chief butlers,⁸ and finally the court doctors.⁹ In the narrative of Alexius' last illness we hear of the physician Michael Pantechnes,¹⁰ apparently in regular attendance, and of consultants, among whom Nicolas Callicles was chief. The former was the pupil and both were the correspondents of Archbishop Theophylact of Bulgaria, so they must have been men of some importance. Anna, as we have said, does not seem to have thought them specially efficient, though in a doubtful matter of treatment she 'sided with the opinion of Callicles', perhaps because he had won fame as a poet and has left us verses that show his intimacy with the imperial house.¹¹

¹ X. 11, p. 304.

² VI. 8, p. 167.

³ e.g. I. 16; VII. 8, p. 209; VIII. 7, 8, and 9; XII. 4, p. 356; 7, p. 364.

⁴ Also called προκαθήμενος φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης (V. 8, p. 145; 9, p. 147). He was appointed by the Emperor. After Italus was deposed for heresy under the Patriarch Eustratius Garidas, we read in the days of the next Patriarch Nicolas (i.e. between 1084 and 1111) of Theodore Smyrnaeus, an eloquent theologian much admired by Theophylact and Callicles (Sternbach, *op. cit.* p. 374), occupying this post (*P. G.* 127, col. 973, Novel 22 of Alexius). Schemmel says that after Theodore the chair remained vacant fifty years (*Die Schulen von K'pel im 12. bis 15. Jahrh.*). See Du Cange's note on V. 8, p. 145 c.

⁵ XIV. 3, p. 432.

⁶ XIII. 1, p. 378.

⁷ X. 10, p. 299.

⁸ II. 3, p. 47; VIII. 8, p. 238; 9, p. 242; IX. 5, p. 254; X. 11; XI. 9, p. 333; XIII. 1, p. 378; XIV. 5, p. 438; XV. 2, p. 462; 6, p. 476. The chief butler Michael was 'very warlike and one of the Emperor's chief intimates'. Anna gives the alternative name for οἰνοχόος as 'pincernes' (VIII. 9, p. 242).

⁹ XV. 11. The only reference to an army doctor is in IV. 4, p. 110.

¹⁰ See Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 687, and Diehl in *Mélanges Schlumberger*, I, p. 116.

¹¹ See Du Cange's notes on XV. 11, pp. 496 and 497 A, and Sternbach's edition of the Poems of Callicles. There would appear to have been some jealousy between the permanent and the temporary advisers. See p. 219, note 3, above.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

43. DISAFFECTION

THROUGHOUT his reign Alexius had trouble with the senators and their conspiracies. But in addition to that Anna's whole story points, probably often unconsciously to herself, to an alarming amount of permanent disaffection among his people in general, and she bemoans the ingratitude¹ of his subjects in not realizing all he had done and suffered for them. Military revolts will come in later, but we will consider the civil plots now.

At the very beginning of his career she speaks of the ' manifold and far-reaching confusion' (ὄχλησις) of the Empire,² which indeed was διεφθορυῖα ἤδη.³ Part of this was due to the fact that there was 'no adequate army'⁴ and no money to obtain one, but part also to internal confusion. We see Alexius⁵ not only patching up a peace with the Turks, but also pardoning the domestic enemy Monomachatus before he can turn his attention to Robert Guiscard. Even then he has to leave his brother Isaac behind to keep Constantinople, 'and if any murmuring words were heard from his enemies as usual, to put them down'; the capital could not be trusted to be true to him in his absence.⁶ We hear of murmurings and insolent whisperings and wounding disloyalty;⁷ in fact the plotters and τύραννοι were so many that Anna professes to have forgotten their names.⁸ The imperial and patriarchal decree of 1026,⁹ anathematizing rebels and excommunicating any priest who admitted them to communion, would seem to have been singularly inoperative. Indeed, to Anna the hypocrisy and untrustworthiness of subjects is proverbial.¹⁰ One thing to her credit is the dispassionate-ness with which she praises the valour while she blames the

¹ XIV. 3, p. 431.

² III. 6, p. 83.

³ III. 8, p. 88.

⁴ III. 9, p. 91.

⁵ III. 11 and 12.

⁶ IV. 4, p. 109. So in V. 2, p. 128, Alexius is said to despair of the 'loyalty of the Greeks', and in V. 2, p. 130 the obstructive Bishop Leo relies on 'ill-disposed men, of whom there then were many, towards the government'.

⁷ IV. 4, p. 109; V. 2, pp. 129, 130; VI. 3, p. 155; XII. 4, pp. 356, 357; XIII. 8, pp. 398, 399; XV. 3, p. 466. In XIV. 4, p. 434 Anna speaks of ἡ στάσις τῶν οἰκoi, and in XIV. 7, p. 449, she puts the crushing of 'the seditions of rebels' as only second to the quelling of foreign wars.

⁸ V. 9, p. 148. The *Anon. Syn. Chron.*, p. 183, speaks vaguely of many rebellions.

⁹ Zach. v. Lingenthal, *Jus Gr.-Rom.* Vol. III, p. 320.

¹⁰ VI. 8, p. 168. Treachery in an envoy does not seem to surprise her (V. 8, p. 145), nor the need for an emperor to hurry home from the front 'hearing a revolt rumoured' (III. 8, p. 90).

disloyalty of the turbulent men who shook the Empire.¹ Her spirit was the same as that which made Alexius let so many potential enemies live on quietly on their own estates.² It is all the more remarkable because of the prevailing Byzantine atmosphere of suspicion,³ largely justified in an age of universal treachery even among friends and kinsmen. Attempts at assassination leave him unmoved.⁴ He merely clung to the presence of the Empress at his side with her 'unsleeping eye'⁵ to guard him. How Anna reconciles this picture of her father's constant danger and constant watchfulness with her theory of his wonderful popularity among his subjects⁶ we cannot pretend to explain, unless indeed we assume that it was only the upper classes and especially the senators who hated him, while the populace were disposed to love him for the open-handedness and affability with which all the writers credit him.⁷

Out of all the plots against the Emperor's throne and life we may believe that of Nicephorus Diogenes, to which Anna devotes no less than six chapters,⁸ to have been the most serious. It was probably the very gravest danger he encountered in his whole reign. His daughter tells us that his affairs were 'in desperate straits', and admits that even he was afraid *κατ' ἀνθρώπων* with his subjects 'thus turbulent', with 'the whole of the political and military order corrupted by the flatteries of Diogenes',⁹ and with his own 'support confined as it were to some few individuals'. It was indeed a case of 'danger hanging over his head', when he was liable to be murdered while asleep or returning from the bath or playing polo, and when his enemy was in the position of an intimate friend. It would appear that only the determined armed rally of Alexius' supporters, notably

¹ So of Urselius, I. 1, p. 4; Nicephorus Bryennius, I. 5, p. 10; VII. 2, p. 191, and X. 3, p. 276; Basilacius, I. 7, p. 17, and 9, p. 22; Theodore Gabras, VIII. 9, p. 240. The chapters in which Cecaumenus (*Strat.* pp. 64-74) deals with would-be usurpers and rebels are among the most instructive in his book.

² So Maria, Constantine Ducas, and Nicephorus Diogenes in Bk. IX. 5-end. The same liberty had been allowed to John Ducas Caesar by Botaniates (II. 6, p. 55). Anna is proud of her father's clemency in this respect (IX. 6, p. 256).

³ See Ch. 12 above.

⁴ IX. 5-end, especially 7, pp. 259, 260. See pp. 144 sq. above.

⁵ XII. 3, p. 352.

⁶ e.g. Pref. 4, p. 8; XIV. 6, p. 444, and 7, p. 448; XV. 11, p. 506.

⁷ So Theodore Prodromus (*Epithalamium*, P. G. 133, col. 1400) praises him for *πράοτης*, Zonaras for being reasonable and approachable and better liked when Irene was not by (XVIII. 29), Ordericus Vitalis for being 'amiable to all' (Pt. III, lib. 7, ch. 4, P. L. 188, col. 519). See p. 48, note 6, above.

⁸ IX. 5-10.

⁹ The statement that Nicephorus feeling sure of the adherence of the rank and file laid himself out to win officers and senators is twice given (IX. 6, p. 257, and 8, p. 261).

his kinsmen and connexions and his father's attendants, saved him from a popular rising to dethrone and kill him. By his own showing, in his speech to the malcontents assembled in his tent, he had again and again turned the blind eye to Nicephorus' intrigues and concealed them from the public, leaving him and his accomplices *ἐπὶ ταύτου* whenever possible. What he and his biographer ascribe to affection¹ and generosity we may with more plausibility put down to fear. Indeed even Anna inclines to think he consented to the blinding of Diogenes and possibly of Cecaumenus Catacalo. As she truly points out, he could not keep all the guilty men in prison, having 'not sufficient forces to set guards over so many'. For all her word-painting of trembling subjects, standing 'more dumb than fishes' while their magnanimous Emperor first reproved and then forgave them, we get a very deep impression of the impotence of the throne in the face of real danger. Alexius seems to have escaped this time by the skin of his teeth. If Ordericus Vitalis² is right in saying that a 'filius Diogenis Augusti' went with Bohemund to Italy in 1105 with other dispossessed heirs of previous emperors so as to stir up hatred against Alexius, it would look as if the twice-shown clemency³ to Nicephorus had been thrown away. Even if the 'filius' was a fourth Diogenes unknown to us from other sources, gratitude must have been singularly lacking in the whole family.

An aftermath of the story of the Diogenes plot fills two and a half chapters of Book X, when a common soldier impersonates Nicephorus' dead brother Constantine. The attempt fails and the pseudo-Diogenes is captured and blinded.⁴ After this disturbance has subsided and Alexius has encountered the far more formidable danger of the crusading hosts we hear of another important conspiracy,⁵ hatched by nobles, men very proud of their valour and the splendour of their birth, and comprising in their number several generals and an ex-prefect of Constantinople. This Anemas plot aims at murdering Alexius over a game of chess and seizing the throne. The cat's-paw is the conveniently rich but timid and foolish senator John

¹ The Emperor, who saved his life at Dristra (VII. 3, p. 198), would seem to have had an unaccountable liking for this young man in spite of his gross ingratitude. He weeps and groans over his calamities, restores to him his confiscated goods, longs for his society at Constantinople, and pardons even a second plot. Anna can hardly have invented the whole of this (IX. 10).

² *Hist. Eccl.* Pt. III, lib. 11, ch. 9, *P. L.* 188, col. 809.

³ IX. 10, pp. 265, 266.

⁴ X. 2, p. 271, to 4, p. 279. See Chalandon on the discrepancy between Nestor and the other Russian chronicles in this matter (*op. cit.* pp. 151 and 267).

⁵ XII. 5 and 6.

Solomon, turned into a 'rebel' (Anna would have us think) by the erroneous philosophical teaching of Italus.¹ He fondly believes that his accomplices mean 'to anoint him Emperor', and 'thinking he already held in his hands the empire of the Greeks', promises 'gifts and dignities to his future subjects', a phrase which seems to show that common people also were implicated. The conspiracy must indeed have been widespread, for Anna says: 'The Empire within was full of mutiny' (*ἀποστασία*)² in spite of Alexius' lavish bestowal of honours and money to purchase loyalty. There was however the usual leakage and treachery of the plotters against one another. It is unpleasing to read of the great Emperor allowing a resort to threats of torture in order to extract confession, and afterwards to a degrading parade of the criminals, crowned with offal and seated on oxen, through the jeering crowds of the capital. No one finally is killed or even blinded, but we feel that the Emperor has had a second great fright.

The rebellions of Gregory Taronites and Michael of Amastris³ end surprisingly in complete reconciliation, but as they were wholly military they do not concern us here. In XIII. 1, we get another plot of civilians, and here we may suspect that Anna suppresses more than she reveals. She begins by telling us that when her father heard of Bohemund's landing in 1107 he hesitated to leave Constantinople because 'domestic affairs (*τὰ κατ' οἶκον*) were once more unfavourable to him'. However, he went, and even on his march to the front he encountered the danger of assassination, which would have proved fatal but for the Hand of God and the presence of the Empress. As to this last factor Chalandon assumes that her desire to go back to the capital from Mestus shows her participation in the plot. He considers that this is further proved by her husband compelling her to go on, and by his exclamation when a specially scurrilous lampoon urging her return to Constantinople is found in his tent. 'La première pensée d'Alexis fut d'accuser Irène d'être l'auteur de ce placard.' But surely this is a great twisting of the Emperor's words, which are as follows: "τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἢ σύ", πρὸς τὴν βασιλῖδα ἀπονεύσας, "ἢ τις τῶν παρόντων ἔρριψε." Is it not far more natural to infer that Alexius suspected neither himself nor his wife but one of his followers actually present, presumably 'Theodore the brother of Aaron', and did not like to say so more openly?⁴ Anna herself ascribes the whole guilt to this Aaron, illegitimate descendant of the extinct Bulgarian dynasty.⁵

¹ V. 9.² XII. 5, p. 357.³ XII. 7; XIV. 3, p. 431.⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 274.⁵ XIII. 1, p. 376.

She says he 'incited the rebellious section to murder the Emperor', and brought his brother Theodore into it. The deed was to have been done upon Alexius 'either on meeting him in a narrow place or coming secretly upon him as he slept'; the agent was to be Aaron's savage Scythian slave Demetrius, and the weapon a two-edged sword. When all this, including the authorship of the lampoons, was discovered first by accident and then by confessions extorted from another of Aaron's slaves, the Emperor banished not only the two brothers but also their mother. The story ends abruptly, leaving us with many unanswered questions. The whole conspiracy, Anna tells us, only delayed the Emperor's march five days.

If we stand aghast at the constant evidences of disloyalty among individuals throughout Alexius' reign, it is no less startling to read of whole towns disaffected both in Asia and in Europe.¹ In Alexius' first campaign, when he tries to borrow money from the people of Amasea in Pontus so as to pay the Turks for surrendering Urselius (theoretically the town's enemy as much as the rest of the Empire's), he is shouted down and 'the people of Amasea are moved to rebellion' (*ἀποστασία*).² Anna ascribes this partly to a few professional agitators, partly to the inherent folly of 'the vulgar crowd', but from her story it is evident that their final acquiescence is induced by self-interest, not loyalty. The calling together by Alexius, as imperial general, of 'all the citizens and especially those of highest rank and well off for money', and the way he tries to cajole them into advancing the sum required, with promises that it shall be faithfully repaid by the Emperor, throw an interesting light on the very slight bond that attached outlying cities to the centre of the Empire. It was touch and go whether the citizens would not set Urselius free, and Anna's picture of the 'great raging crowd' which her father, a small man, subdues by his voice and lifted hand would be worth quoting in full for its vividness, if it were original and not copied almost bodily from her husband's work. In characteristic fashion Alexius, already the arch-diplomat in his daughter's eyes, fills the people with suspicions of their chief men ('who are deceiving you, buying their own safety by your blood') and declares that they are playing a double game with Urselius and the Emperor. He grants them a night to think over the question of giving money, but is so afraid of popular violence that without waiting for

¹ Curiously enough Anna never tells us anything, good or bad, about any towns in Greece.

² I. 2, p. 6.

their answer he pretends to blind Urselius, in order to put him so to speak out of the running for a 'tyranny' and bring his supporters to reason. 'And this persuaded the whole populace, whether native or foreign, to contribute to the common fund like bees,'¹ after which Alexius proceeds to bring back to their allegiance the cities and fortresses all round 'that had formerly acted badly'.

Amasea and its neighbourhood, we may reflect, were far from Byzantium and might conceivably sit loosely to the interests of the Empire. But Thessalonica though not very much nearer was certainly far dearer, a most important place in fact, where the army in the *Alexias* assembles again and again. Yet the rebel Basilacius found shelter within its walls, and its doors were closed against Alexius and the Emperor whom he represented. Only a threat that he will assault and sack the town brings the inhabitants to their senses. 'The Thessalonians from fear that the city would be captured and would suffer harm, yielded an entrance to Comnenus.' Basilacius took refuge in the citadel, but 'all those who dwelt in the acropolis and guarded it drove him thence and forcibly handed him over, unwilling as he was, to the Grand Domestic'. We wonder whether Alexius' subsequent activities in Thessalonica 'setting its affairs in order' included punishment for those who had tried to flout his authority.²

The next town to play fast and loose with its allegiance is Durazzo, of which we shall speak at greater length later.³ But here we feel with Anna that the presence of a large foreign population from Venice and Amalfi and other places had lowered the standard of loyalty and made the inhabitants more ready to change sides. After the defeat of Alexius outside their walls they think it prudent to surrender to Robert Guiscard;⁴ after his death they do the same to Alexius, who has used his favourite trick of 'sowing dissension' and has followed it up by promises and bribes. On this occasion they murder all the partisans of Robert and 'hand over the fortress to the Emperor, after securing a complete amnesty from him'.⁵ Self-interest is their sole consideration, as it is of 'the rulers of the lands and cities held by Robert' in Epirus, when after the Durazzo defeat they speedily 'despair once for all of the Emperor and go wholly over to Bohemund's side'.⁶

¹ I. 3, p. 7.

² I. 9.

³ See Ch. 61, below.

⁴ V. 1, p. 125.

⁵ VI. 6, p. 163.

⁶ V. 4, p. 133. Alexius' written exhortations in III. 9, p. 92, before hostilities had begun, to 'the leaders of the sea-towns and even to the islanders themselves'

Everywhere it is the same story. Unless the Emperor is there to terrorize his subjects, not only commandants play him false but cities and provinces also. Trebizond and Antioch and Acrunus are disloyal only in the person of their governors, but in the bitter times of the Coman invasion in aid of the pseudo-Diogenes it is whole towns that are traitors. At Goloe, twice chosen as a safe stronghold by Alexius in the earlier Patzinak War,¹ we read: 'The inhabitants of the town put in chains the man entrusted with the defence of the fortress and handed him over to the Comans, whom they themselves welcomed shouting joyfully.'² And the neighbouring towns, 'Diampolis and the rest', follow this example. Yet so venial is this felt to be that as soon as the impostor has fallen and the Comans have retreated Alexius goes once more to Goloe,³ as a good place for distributing the requisite honours and 'great gifts' to his troops. When in this same Coman campaign the important military station Adrianople (once so hostile to Alexius⁴) and its commandant Bryennius remain staunch, after earnest entreaties from the Emperor to its 'chosen men', we are left in doubt whether it is honour or the expectation of 'many bounties' that influences their action.⁵

One more rebellion on a large scale will conclude the list, that of Crete and Cyprus, which apparently revolted simultaneously. In Crete the inhabitants do not even wait for the arrival of the imperial forces, but turn against their former leader and effect 'dreadful slaughter upon him'.⁶ The island is handed over to Nicephorus Diogenes 'for his own dwelling-place'.⁷ The reduction of Cyprus takes longer, even though the rebel Rhapsomates is a poor fighter and a wretched rider whom his own soldiers desert for the enemy.⁸ Under a new and juster administration it seems to have remained loyal and tranquil.⁹

Before we finally leave the subject of plots against the Emperor, whether by few or by many, it is worth making a special

had failed of effect. The same motive of self-interest doubtless makes the same neighbourhood go over once more to the same Bohemund, after an interval of more than twenty years (XIII. 5, p. 390).

¹ VII. 2, p. 193; 3, p. 198.

² X. 3, p. 274.

³ X. 4, p. 281.

⁴ II. 6, p. 57. For troops there see VI. 14, p. 183, &c. It was presumably the head-quarters of the Domestic of the West (Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. 37, note 4).

⁵ X. 2, p. 274. In XIV. 8, p. 452, we are informed that the Manichaeans in Philippopolis, who formed the majority of the inhabitants, 'tyrannized over the Christians and seized their goods, paying little or no attention to messengers from the Emperor'.

⁶ IX. 2, p. 248.

⁷ IX. 6, p. 256.

⁸ IX. 2, p. 249.

⁹ See Books XI and XIV.

study of one word which Anna constantly uses in this connexion, as indeed do all her contemporaries. In classical Greek the word *τύραννος* meant 'an absolute sovereign', referring rather to 'the irregular way in which the power was *gained* . . . than [to] the way in which it was *exercised*. . . . However, the word soon came to imply reproach and was used like our *tyrant*.¹ Sometimes this is the meaning in the *Alexias*, but far more often Anna gives it the Byzantine sense of 'rebel'.² It is one of her favourite words. Thus the Celt Urselius was *τυραννικώτατος τὴν ψυχὴν* and inclining *πρὸς καθαρὰν τυραννίδα*; Bryennius had a 'plan of tyranny' just as his father had 'rebelled of old' (*τυραννήσας*); Basilacius also was 'most tyrannous', in aspect as well as soul. Now these three as well as George Maniaces were all actually rebels against the emperor of the day, and when Alexius before his revolt mysteriously notifies John Ducas Caesar (himself stamped by his outward appearance as a former would-be usurper) of his impending *τυραννίς* the meaning is the same.³ But to Robert Guiscard the term of 'rebel' was in no sense applicable. So when Anna calls him or his son Bohemund a *τύραννος*,⁴ or the king of Germany accuses the Pope of 'tyranny' for occupying the Papal throne without his consent,⁵ the idea as far as one can distinguish between the two is rather of seizing sovereignty than of rebelling against it.⁶ The Manichaeans at Philippopolis 'tyrannized over' the Christians, having previously been 'independent rulers' (*τυραννιῶντες*) in their Armenian fortresses.⁷ The overbearing Scythian slaves, Borilus and Germanus, are tyrannous⁸ in our modern sense both to the Emperor they flout and the fellow-subjects they oppress. It would have been a 'plot of tyrannical violence' if Alexius had taken Church property as a theft 'and not a loan'.⁹ Yet to have an *εἶδος ἀξίον τυραννίδος* is a fine and desirable

¹ Liddell and Scott. In Thucydides both Pericles and Cleon remind the Athenians that their empire is a 'tyranny', because it has been 'unjustly gained' (*Hist.* II. 63, and III. 37).

² Thus the evil teachings of Italus the philosopher made not a few of his pupils into *τυράννους*, and the later history of one of them, John Solomon, shows that rebellion is meant (V. 9, p. 148; XII. 5).

³ I. 1, p. 4; 7, p. 17 (*bis*); II. 6, p. 55; 7, p. 57; V. 8, p. 144; X. 2, p. 274 (*bis*).

⁴ e.g. I. 10, p. 23 (*bis*); 13, p. 30; 14, p. 34; XII. 9, p. 370; XIII. 2, p. 379; 3, p. 381; 4, pp. 388, 389; 6, p. 394.

⁵ I. 13, p. 31.

⁶ Robert is represented as usurping power in Italy, and Bohemund at Antioch. In the *Παδεία βασιλική* of Anna's contemporary Theophylact, the 'tyrant' is a man who seizes power by violence and bloodshed and then oppresses his people (II. 6-11, *P. G.* 126, cols. 269-73).

⁷ XIV. 8, pp. 451, 452.

⁸ VI. 3, p. 155.

⁸ I. 16, p. 39; II, *passim*.

thing,¹ though as this is a quotation from Euripides it is perhaps not a fair test of Anna's real sentiments. Usually of course in 'tyranny' rebellion and usurpation of power are conjoined, as in Botaniates' or Abul Cassim's achievement and Nicephorus Diogenes' aspirations.² Anna twice draws the distinction between enemies without and τὸ τυραννικὸν πλῆθος within.³ The Anemas conspirators when convicted are exposed to public derision as τετυραννευκότες,⁴ being men who had 'armed their tyrannous hand' to kill the Emperor.⁵ Many a time did the Emperor crush 'the seditions of rebels'⁶ (τὰς τῶν τυράννων στάσεις). But the full sense of cruel ruthlessness which enters into our word 'tyrant' and is to be found in Thucydides, Aristotle, and Plato⁷ is altogether absent from Anna's use of the word and its derivatives.

If open conspiracy and 'tyranny' and popular discontent are common in the *Alexias*, the milder forms of insubordination that take the form of lawless contempt for authority are no less so. In one story indeed, when Theodore Gabras steals his son away from the Byzantine court, our sympathies are wholly with him, and we see not ingratitude but natural feeling when later on the son himself tries to escape, unshaken in his resolve even by the prospect of an imperial bride. Probably there was more than meets the eye, for Anna talks mysteriously of a plot and of an oath on a specially sacred relic and of 'accomplices' who, like the boy himself, are banished. As the story stands it seems emphatically 'much ado about nothing'. But graver breaches of discipline are to be found. Three times we see a civil populace ready to lynch unpopular victims, careless of what the Emperor may say.⁸ In very early days we have Alexius' secretary Manganes disobeying his orders in his supposed interest.⁹ The freedom of speech and behaviour of Isaac Comnenus¹⁰ towards his sovereign brother would seem excessive even in this demo-

¹ Pref. 4, p. 6 as to which see Ch. 5; VI. 7, p. 165. In II. 7, p. 57, there seems to be an allusion to this phrase; cf. Nic. Bry. IV. 15, p. 96. In Nic. Acom. *John C.* 3, p. 7, and 9, p. 21 we find εἶδος τυραννικόν and τὸ εἶδος τυραννικώτατος used in a laudatory sense.

² VI. 11, p. 176; IX. 5, p. 255; 6, p. 257 (*bis*); 10, p. 266. So Nic. Bry. (I. 1, p. 16) says Bardas Sclerus had 'been a tyrant' (i.e. rebel) for years, though he never gained the sceptre.

³ I. 10, p. 23; XII. 5, p. 359.

⁴ XII. 6, p. 362.

⁵ XII. 6, p. 361.

⁶ XIV. 7, p. 449.

⁷ 'To a tyrant . . . nothing is inconsistent that is expedient' (Thuc. VI. 85). 'Tyranny is fond of bad men' because it loves flattery (Arist. *Pol.* V. 11, p. 1314). 'The tyrant never tastes of true freedom or true friendship' (Plato, *Rep.* IX. 576).

⁸ V. 9, p. 149; IX. 7, p. 260; XV. 10, p. 494.

⁹ II. 8, p. 60; 10, p. 63.

¹⁰ VIII. 8.

cratic age, and in the conspiracy of Nicephorus Diogenes we are startled to see how boldly the young man intrudes on the Emperor's privacy. In the same story one attendant rebukes Alexius as 'mad', another applies to the suspect Nicephorus torture 'that had not been commanded him', and it is the Emperor's adherents not his emissaries who take the convicted man and blind him.¹ Even if as Anna suggests this plan was initiated or approved by her father, the execution of it was their lawless doing. As to licence of mere words, we may note that in a friendly critic Anna admires free speech even to her father,² but any man who rails against the imperial kinsmen shows 'complete madness'³ (*ἀπόνοια παντελής*). In another quarter, the speech of Bohemund to Alexius himself as well as to his envoys is so haughtily discourteous that one wonders they ever came to terms, even by the mediation of Anna's persuasive husband.⁴ Throughout the history, in cajoling or coercing turbulent subjects no less than in dealing with formidable enemies, Alexius is like an acrobat walking on eggs.

To sum up, we find internal affairs in the Empire as depicted by Anna a strange mixture of despotism and anarchy, of theoretical adoration for a semi-divine Autocrator and flagrant insubordination against him.⁵ We see money collected with difficulty and spent in lavish gifts; we find the Emperor standing in daily danger from plotting and discontented subjects, yet bound by prudence or sense of dignity to waive all severe penalties. When we consider that, as Diehl points out,⁶ between 395 and 1453 the Eastern Empire was the scene of sixty-five revolutions, and that of 107 emperors only 34 died in their beds, we must indeed admit that uneasy lay the head that wore the crown of Byzantium. And Anna's pages unceasingly remind us of the fact.

¹ IX. 5-10. So in Bk. II the Scythian court slaves intend to blind Alexius without any leave from their master Botaniates. In Scylitzes, p. 868 A, we read of torture applied (without the orders of the Emperor Botaniates) to a peculating Logothete, so severe that he died under it.

² XIII. 1, p. 376.

³ XII. 7, p. 364.

⁴ XIII. 9-11.

⁵ See Ch. 7 above and Ch. 57 below. It is an interesting fact that the scribe of the C manuscript of the *Alexias* makes textual corrections 'quibus cautum est ne Alexius eiusque frater Isaacius . . . ἀποστράται nominarentur'; Reifferscheid, *Praef.* p. vii.

⁶ *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 728.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

44. PATRIARCHS AND CLERGY

ANNA'S attitude to ecclesiastical matters is perhaps the most interesting side of her character, or rather of her mind. We notice at once how keen is her interest in her Church and its theology, far keener on the intellectual side than that of most moderns, to whom doctrinal hair-splittings offer less than no attraction. Next we realize how this writer, who tried so hard to weigh evidence in secular matters, forgot all sense of proportion in inveighing against God-hated heretics, and lost the humane spirit which she theoretically admires. Finally we have to try and discover how far her display of theological learning shows accuracy and real knowledge.

We must begin by a few general remarks on the state of the Greek Church in her day. The religion or superstition of individuals has been already considered; here we must think of the Church and its officers as a political institution. L. Bréhier¹ has pointed out in an interesting way how in the fourth and fifth centuries, while the West was being ravaged by barbarians, the East was the centre of the world. The rich and prosperous Byzantine Empire was the seat of the various Councils, as well as the birthplace of all heresies; it was after Egypt the nursery of monasticism, the source of Christian art, the shrine of the most precious relics, as well as in material spheres the home of manufacture and trade. Suddenly the Persian and Arabian invasions came to change the face of the world. Pilgrimages from the West to Palestine continued even after the infidel captures of Jerusalem (by Persians in 614 and Arabs in 637), but from the days of Charlemagne onwards it was the Franks and not the Byzantines who guarded the Holy Sepulchre. This fact and the long Iconoclastic controversy diminished Byzantine prestige, which had barely recovered in the eyes of Europe when the schism of 1054 finally severed East and West. The days when the Eastern Emperor could summon the whole Church to a Council, act as its chairman and execute its decrees, were for ever gone by. Whether they admitted it or not, Greek Christians were only a part and no longer the whole of the Body of Christ on earth.

Even within the Eastern Empire the Church was not supreme,

¹ *L'Église et l'Orient.*

for except in rare cases the Emperor could always overcome the Patriarch.¹ Their importance varied inversely; if one was strong² the other was proportionally weak, but whereas the Emperor apparently could remove an obnoxious Patriarch by his sole authority, it needed the support of a popular revolution for a Patriarch to get rid of an Emperor. The intrigues about the replacing of Cosmas by Eustratius Garidas in the Patriarchate are a clear proof of how much depended on the personality of the rival potentates, the secular and the hieratical. Botaniates is a feeble old man, so he 'obeys the words of the bishop',³ but Cosmas is himself the tool of the Ducas family,⁴ and even his 'height of virtue', or in other words his being 'full of sanctity', is discounted by τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπραγμον of his character, and Anna Dalassena has little trouble in having him persuaded to resign the episcopal throne and enter a monastery.⁵ The patriarchs, even if as has been truly remarked almost none resisted the emperor's will with impunity in the long run, could yet make their power unpleasantly felt, as both Photius and Cerularius had in past days shown; it was a mere question of brains and character. The subordinate rôle of the four men who occupied the see in Alexius' reign, Cosmas, Eustratius Garidas, Nicolas Grammaticus, and John Agapetus (or of Chalcedon), is certainly due to their personal inefficiency. Eustratius Garidas was a eunuch and a creature of Anna Dalas-

¹ Pope Paschal II (Ep. 437, *P. L.* 163, col. 388), writing to Alexius about reunion, says it is easier for the Emperor to achieve it than for himself, 'quia nostrarum gentium diversitas non facile in unum potest convenire consensum. Vobis autem per omnipotentis Dei gratiam facultas patet, quia clericorum ac laicorum, praepositorum ac subditorum . . . de vestro pendent arbitrio, cum vestrae adsit benignitas voluntatis.' (There is a lacuna in the text after 'subditorum'.)

² The Patriarch Cerularius, according to Rambaud, wished to found 'une théocratie grecque', and aspired to wear the purple boots (*Rev. Hist.* III, 1877). His attempt ended in imprisonment and deposition at the hands of the Emperor Isaac Comnenus (1059).

³ II. 12, p. 68.

⁴ III. 2.

⁵ III. 4, p. 79. We may note that the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* says that Cosmas retired from old age (p. 182), while Zonaras (XVIII. 21) and Glycas (IV, p. 332) represent him as giving up his post voluntarily, from disapproval of Alexius' methods of raising money. Under the circumstances it is strange to find Anna Dalassena calling Cosmas in to help in quieting Alexius' conscience about the sack of Constantinople (*Al.* III. 5, p. 81).

Scylitzes (p. 860 c) speaks most scornfully of Cosmas when elected after the death of John Xiphilinus: 'The Emperor [Michael VII] chose another, not from those of the Senate, nor from those of the [Great] Church, nor any other of the Byzantines named and famed for word and deed, but a certain monk Cosmas sprung from the holy city, and honoured by the Emperor with the greatest honour on account of the virtue (ἀρετή) belonging to him, for although he was τῆς ἐξωθεν σοφίας ἀγενεστος καὶ ἀμύητος, yet he was adorned with various virtues; wherefore overlooking all things [beside] he placed him at the helm of the Church.'

sena's, whose ambitions he had flattered.¹ Three other writers speak of him as contemptuously as does Anna. She tells us first of his 'show of virtue' and later on of his gullibility when pitted against the clever heretic Italus;² Zonaras, Glycas, and the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* represent him as an uneducated, undistinguished man, fitter rather for 'a corner' than for public affairs, who was deposed against his will.³ Of his successor Nicolas we also know little. Krumbacher ascribes to him some verses regulating monastic fasts,⁴ but Anna, though calling him ὁ γραμματικὸς as well as 'most blessed', only mentions him as assisting at the trial first of Nilus and then of the Bogomile heretics, and helping in the drawing of Sacred Lots.⁵ The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* praises his 'poverty and self-denial' and says he founded a monastery, but Zonaras is not enthusiastic over his learning.⁶ The next Patriarch John does not figure in Anna's pages at all.⁷ Two meagre references to former patriarchs, St. Ignatius and John Xiphilinus,⁸ exhaust all that she has to say about previous holders of the see. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that even a patriarch held in low esteem can fix, with the aid of 'certain chosen members of the Holy Synod and of the monastic body', the penance for an emperor.⁹ To him matters about the taking of church property, as well as heretics and their refutation, are naturally brought.¹⁰ He is the κορυφαῖος of all (thereby enjoying the same title as the 'chief' apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul¹¹); he alone can crown sovereigns, and in the Great Church of St. Sophia he reigns supreme.¹² The position was a great one; it was only the occupants of it that were small.¹³

¹ III. 2, p. 75, and 4, p. 79.

² V. 9, p. 148.

³ *Epit.* XVIII. 21; *Bibl. Chron.* IV, p. 332; *Anon. Syn. Chron.* p. 182. The word γωνία occurs in all three accounts and may be the colloquial word for a cloister. Cf. *Al.* X. 1, p. 269; XIV. 7, p. 447, and see p. 49, above. Prodrômus in a poem complaining of illness says: ἰδοὺ τελέως ἡργησα καὶ γὰρ ἐγγωνιάζω (C. Neumann, *Gr. Gesch.* p. 46). The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* says he was deposed 'deservedly'; Glycas says the cause was unknown. Anna merely mentions his παραίτησις, X. 2, p. 273. In the 'Trial of Italus' Alexius says he himself took up the trial because Eustratius 'rather dwelt at leisure and preferred peace and quiet to noisy throngs, and turned to God alone, *Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, Vol. II, p. 32).

⁴ *G. B. L.* p. 317.

⁵ In X. 1, p. 270, at the trial of Nilus we read: 'There were then present all the body (πλήρωμα) of the Bishops and the Patriarch Nicolas himself.' Cf. XV. 8, p. 488; 10, p. 492. For the Lots see X. 2, p. 273.

⁶ *loc. cit.* *Epit.* XVIII. 21.

⁷ Zonaras says he was versed in λόγοις τοῖς τε θύραθεν καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς (*Epit.* XVIII. 25).

⁸ III. 3, p. 75; X. 10, p. 298.

⁹ III. 5, p. 81.

¹⁰ V. 2, p. 128; 9, p. 148; X. 1, p. 270; XV. 8 and 10.

¹¹ X. 2, p. 273; cf. I. 12, p. 29; IX. 9, p. 265.

¹² III. 2; V. 9, p. 148.

¹³ Interesting sidelights on the power of the Patriarch are thrown by the 'Trial of Italus' (*Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, *loc. cit.* p. 64), where we read of a

We will now consider the expression five times used by Anna, 'the Holy Synod'. 'Certain chosen members' of it help to assess the Emperor's penance.¹ His brother Isaac summons to St. Sophia 'the Synod and the whole body (πλήρωμα) of the Church', evidently two distinct units, to hear his intention of taking ecclesiastical treasure for military needs. The 'members of the Holy Synod' are described as ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας συνεδριάζοντες τῷ πατριάρχῃ.² When Bishop Leo of Chalcedon makes his second protest against this method of procuring soldiers' pay by robbing churches, he sets himself not only against the Emperor but against the considered opinions of 'the more distinguished members of the Synod'.³ The trial of Nilus and his Armenian fellow-heretics is instituted by the Emperor, who 'collecting the chiefs of the Church, decided with them that a Synod should be held publicly concerning these men. And there was then present all the body of the bishops and the Patriarch Nicolas himself.'⁴ The Synod listens to the accused Nilus, condemns him to a 'perpetual anathema', and reasserts the true orthodox doctrine. Shortly afterwards another obdurate heretic is 'also' handed over by the baffled Emperor to 'the Church' (here it would seem loosely synonymous with 'Synod'), which subjects the man to the same fate as Nilus. Finally, in Anna's last Book the Bogomile heretics are tried before Alexius, 'and there were then present many of the Senate and of the Holy Synod and men chosen from the very Naziraeans (monks) for their learning'.⁶ These same judges, described again as 'all of the Holy Synod and chosen men of the Naziraeans and Nicolas himself, the Patriarch of the time', condemn the misguided leader Basil to be burnt.⁷

Du Cange in his note on the first of these passages states that

disciple of Italus who had been set by the Patriarch 'over the monasteries of the West', and by two Novels of Alexius (a) *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (P. G. 127, cols. 941-5); (b) an unpublished one in a manuscript of Mt. Athos, *De exemptione montis Atho a patriarcha* (Zach. v. Lingenthal, *Jus Gr.-Rom.*, Tome III, Proleg. p. xviii, No. 44).

¹ III. 5, p. 81.

² V. 2, p. 128.

³ V. 2, p. 130.

⁴ X. 1, p. 270.

⁵ So 'the Church' tries the heretic Italus (V. 9, p. 148). Probably in both these passages only the bishops are meant. Du Cange, in his *Glossarium med. et inf. latinitatis*, defines *Synodus* thus: 'Vox generica est scriptoribus Christianis, quibus fere semper quodvis Concilium episcoporum dicitur'. In the Orthodox Church to-day the word Synod has the same specially episcopal meaning, e.g. in the late Holy Synod of Russia which consisted of Bishops and a Procurator representing the Czar, and in the Greek Constitution drawn up in 1864, which enacts that 'the Orthodox Church of Greece . . . is governed by a Synod of Bishops' (*Encycl. Brit.*, 'Orthodox Eastern Church'). It is therefore safe to conclude that to Anna also a Synod meant 'a council of bishops'.

⁶ XV. 9, p. 491.

⁷ XV. 10, p. 492.

the name 'Synod' strictly belonged in Anna's day only to the four high ecclesiastical dignitaries who acted as the Patriarch's counsellors, the Great Oeconomicus, the Great Sacellarius, the Great Chartophylax, and the Chartophylax who served as Curator Sacelli. But it is clear from all the places where Anna uses the word that she gives it a wider and more general signification, treating it (as we have said) as equivalent to 'all the body of the bishops'. Other phrases of hers, doubtless including priests if not deacons also, are 'as many as were on the hieratic register' (ὅσον or ἅπαντες τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου, as contrasted with τὸ στρατιωτικόν or ὁ στρατιωτικὸς κατάλογος)¹ and τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύνταγμα.² From the bishops certain λογάδες (once called γερονσία) seem to have been selected, acting like a Privy Council and liable to be summoned in advance of the main Synod.³ But on the whole we must own that about the episcopal body, as about the senatorial, Anna gives us disappointingly little information.

Even individuals among the bishops as apart from the patriarchs do not often occupy her stage. We hear twice of Bishop Leo of Chalcedon, once as a contumacious opponent not only of the Emperor's financial methods but also of his and the whole Church's teaching about images, once as a timely apparition helping George Palaeologus in battle. His ignorance, deficiency in dialectics, and obduracy towards his kind sovereign, who finally deposes him, outweigh in Anna's mind his austerity of life and 'the superabundance of his virtue', and she seems to consider exile in Pontus his fitting fate.⁴ It is perhaps natural that she should not think very admiringly of bishops when we remember that two at least of the patriarchs she mentions as well as Bishop Leo were men of no learning, and that when the highly educated but otherwise contemptible Michael VII was deposed he first entered the monastic and then the episcopal ranks.⁵ The Bishop of Tripoli also plays a sorry part in a matter of trust, though it is perhaps hardly fair to cite him among bishops of the Empire.⁶ On the other hand Alexius pays great heed to the accusation made against his nephew John Comnenus by the then 'Archbishop of Bulgaria', whom we know to have been the writer Theophylact of Achrida,⁷ and when the

¹ VI. 3, p. 156; X. 2, p. 273.

² XV. 9, p. 492.

³ V. 9, p. 148; X. 1, p. 270; XV. 8, p. 488; 9, p. 492.

⁴ V. 2; VII. 4, p. 199. She evidently marvels at the devotion to the bishop of her uncle George Palaeologus.

⁵ I. 4, 9; 12, p. 28.

⁶ XIV. 2.

⁷ VIII. 7, p. 236. His own four letters to 'the Sebastocrator's son' (*P. G.* 126, cols. 513, 529-33) throw no light on this, and Anna as usual is far from explicit. The story is mysterious in many ways.

heretic Nilus is tried 'all the body of bishops' as we saw above, is present.¹ The Patriarch of Antioch is the subject of a special provision in the treaty made by Alexius and his son John with Bohemund. The Norman is to have the town, but this is the condition which he accepts: 'I agree and swear by the God honoured in the Church of Antioch that the Patriarch of Antioch shall not be of our race, but whomsoever your Majesties shall appoint, being one of those trained in the great Church of Constantinople';² this was indeed an admirable device for the Empire to keep a hold on Antioch. Other provincial bishops mentioned in the *Alexias* are Eustratius of Nicaea, said to be wise both in mundane and in religious matters and specially expert in argument, and the Bishop of Philippopolis.³ With their aid Alexius makes strenuous efforts to convert the Manichaeans.⁴

Among foreign hierarchs Anna alludes to Herbius, Archbishop of Capua, whom Alexius tries to win over,⁵ to the Bishop of Bari whose 'envoy' accompanies the army of Robert Guiscard on his first Illyrian campaign,⁶ and to the Bishop of Pisa who commands a fleet and stirs up 'two others of those dwelling on the sea-coast', presumably the Bishops of Genoa and (by a stretch) Florence.⁷ In enumerating the witnesses to Alexius' treaty with Bohemund she mentions the Bishops of Amalfi and Taranto (honoured with the favourite episcopal epithet of 'very dear to God'), the former of whom is 'an envoy from the Pope to the Emperor', and signs for the pilgrims who cannot write.⁸ It is of course part of Anna's indifference (or ignorance) as to 'barbarians' that she calls Peter the Hermit an ἐπίσκοπος and ἀρχιερεὺς⁹ and mentions 'bishops' quite vaguely with 'kings and dukes and counts' as commanding the crusading hosts.

In the lower ranks of the clergy we find Anna cursorily alluding both to seculars and to regulars. Not only the Bishop of Taranto but also 'the clergy with him' sign as witnesses to

¹ X. 1, p. 270.

² XIII. 12, p. 413. For the importance of this see's occupant cf. Nic. Bry. II. 28. Even Isaac Comnenus, himself Duke of the town, stood in awe of him.

³ XIV. 8, p. 453. This same Eustratius of Nicaea is mentioned by Nicetas Acominatus (*Thes. Orth. Fid.*, P. G. 140, col. 136) as tinged with the heresies of his teacher Italus, and deprived of his rank as bishop. It seems hard to credit.

⁴ XIV. 8, p. 453. The Preface to the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus (P. G. 130, col. 21) suggests the danger of theological rivalry between an emperor and his bishops; Alexius refuted heresies but οὐ τὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἔργον σφετεριζόμενος.

⁵ III. 10, p. 93.

⁶ III. 12, p. 99.

⁷ XI. 10, p. 335.

⁸ XIII. 12, pp. 415, 416. He is mentioned as an envoy from Paschal II to Alexius in a letter from the former to the latter, pleading for a Council towards reunion (P. L. 163, col. 389).

⁹ X. 10, p. 299; XI. 6, p. 326.

Bohemund's treaty,¹ and priests (*ιερείς*) are present with the imperial army, to perform the last rites for the dying.² Irene's benefactions to 'those whom from their appearance and their life she knew to be serving God and to be intent on prayer and antiphonal songs'³ must have extended to the clergy of the various churches like the Chalcoprata.⁴ Alexius furnishes 'a large body of clergy and a plentiful supply of lamps to the temple' in his Orphanage.⁵ The church of St. Sophia had produced great grammarians and lexicographers.⁶ In Anna's few other references to priests their vestments are specially mentioned.⁷ Finally on the principle of *corruptio optimi pessima* she feels the public exposure and condemnation of the heretic Blachernites for holding 'tenets foreign to the Church' to have been a peculiarly dreadful necessity, because he was 'in holy orders' (*ιερωμένος*), and even the valour and generosity of the 'Latin priest' in his single combat with Marianus Maurocatalo do not atone in her eyes for his impiety in fighting at all.⁸

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

45. MONKS AND CHURCH PRIVILEGES

ON the whole it may be said that Anna shows no sign of being priest-ridden, or even monk-ridden, which was far more common in those days. On the other hand she never displays on her father's behalf that economic and military jealousy of the monastic orders, as of men who would not 'pay, work, or obey', who undersold lay labour and shirked service in the army, of which N. Jorga⁹ speaks, and in which he sees the true root of the Iconoclastic movement. By the twelfth century things had calmed down and images had returned to favour, 'mais sans que les couvents, surtout à Constantinople, eussent jamais regagné l'influence que la thaumaturgie des

¹ XIII. 12, p. 415.

² XV. 7, p. 482.

³ XII. 3, p. 351.

⁴ VI. 3, p. 157. Here 'the performing of hymns' is their special duty.

⁵ XV. 7, p. 485.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ X. 8, p. 292; XI. 8, p. 331. St. John the Evangelist twice appears thus robed (II. 7, pp. 58, 59; XII. 4, p. 355). A bishop's robe, mitre, and pallium occur in I. 12, p. 28; cf. I. 4, p. 9.

⁸ X. 1, p. 270; X. 8.

⁹ Paper read before the Congress of Byzantinology (*Acad. Roum. Bull.* Tome XI, pp. 147-50). He draws interesting comparisons between Iconoclasm and the similar attacks on monks and nuns in China in the fifth, sixth, and ninth centuries, in Transylvania under Maria Theresa, and in France at the Revolution of 1789. He might have added, in Spain less than a hundred years ago.

icônes' (rejected by popular sentiment as idolatrous) 'leur avait assurée'. The great monastery of Laura, founded on Mount Athos in 969, was for the contemplative life only, and its members were not to mix in state affairs.¹

Accordingly, in the *Alexias* we find no 'turbulent priest' powerful enough to cause the Emperor even a fraction of the vexation experienced by Henry II. The patriarchs were virtually his creatures, the monks were chastened by the memory of that hundred years' struggle.² Yet the part played by the monastic orders was still very important, not least because 'the angelic life' was, as we must constantly remind ourselves, the usual refuge for tired or fallen greatness. The deposed Emperors Michael VII and Nicephorus Botaniates were both forced into monasteries;³ the Emperor Isaac Comnenus had retired to one voluntarily,⁴ and so does Isaac the Sebastocrator just before his death.⁵ The Patriarch Cosmas on leaving his see goes to the monastery of Callias; into a monastery in Bithynia Alexius' brother Manuel is carried to die.⁶ Anna Dalassena is represented by her granddaughter as yearning for the conventual life,⁷ and by Zonaras and the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* as having already put on τὸ ἐνδυμα τὸ μοναχικόν.⁸ When Alexius' daughter Eudocia is ill-treated by her husband Iasites her mother's remedy is expressed in the two words εὐθὺς ἀποκείρει.⁹ The same life is adopted by Eudocia's aunt Theodora, widow of Constantine Diogenes.¹⁰ The Empress Maria's retirement to the palace by St. George's monastery of the Mangana (which together with the Hebdomon had been deeded to her by her second husband Botaniates) did not indeed imply any taking the veil at first; this was afterwards forced on her by Alexius,¹¹ who simultaneously deprived her son Constantine of his imperial insignia. An earlier palace upheaval had consigned Eudocia Macrembolitissa, Maria's predecessor as Empress, to a convent with her young Diogenes sons.¹²

¹ Yet Nic. Bry. (*Hyle*, IV. 27, p. 102) speaks of Abbot Symeon of Mt. Athos as the envoy from Alexius to Basilacius. On the Byzantine monasteries see *G.B.L.* p. 713.

² Baynes (*Byz. Emp.*, pp. 91-3) gives an interesting account of how the Iconoclasts headed by Theodore and the monks of Studium tried to assert the Church's independence of the Emperor in spiritual matters, and how their attempt failed.

³ I. 4, p. 9, and 12, p. 28; III. 1, pp. 70, 71.

⁴ Psellus, *Chron.*, Const. X, Byz. T., p. 237.

⁵ Zonaras, XVIII. 24. Even Alexius, according to *Anon. Syn. Chron.* p. 186, dies τὴν τρίχα κεράμενος, though without abdicating or retiring to a cloister.

⁶ III. 4, p. 79; Nic. Bry. I. 12, p. 26.

⁷ III. 6, p. 82; 8, p. 88.

⁸ *Epit.* XVIII. 21; *Anon. Syn. Chron.* p. 177.

⁹ Zonaras, XVIII. 22.

¹⁰ X. 2, p. 272. She 'took up the conventual life, pursuing the ascetic life most conscientiously and turning to God alone'.

¹¹ III. 4, p. 80; Zonaras, XVIII. 21.

¹² IX. 6, p. 256; Nic. Bry. I. 20, p. 33.

Sometimes the 'garment of a monk' was regarded merely as a flag of truce, inglorious but reliable. Thus John Ducas Caesar had adopted it to avert the displeasure of his nephew Michael VII, but was justly afraid that soldiers would jeer at him as an 'abbot'.¹ In her own enforced retirement Anna associates only with old soldiers now tonsured, 'who had met with misfortunes and had changed from worldly tumult to the peaceful condition of monks'.² Their transformation was doubtless due to prudence rather than to a sense of vocation; revolutions could not harm them now.

Alexius to please his mother keeps a monk in his military tent,³ and 'certain chosen members of the monastic body' help as we saw above in assigning the penance for the sack of Constantinople. We hear of one monk bringing news (which it is true is not believed) to an imperial general, and of another on whom is fathered a specially virulent lampoon in the Aaron conspiracy.⁴ As Cinnamus speaks of monks in camp giving advice to John II⁵ and Bryennius shows us Alexius using an abbot as his envoy,⁶ we may fairly conclude that many of these individuals accompanied the Greek armies. Their 'gown and cowl' was supposed to be the symbol of virtue, so the Bogomiles dressed as monks, and it was Basil's 'gown' that was first burnt by the executioners. Monkish prayers, as is well known, were thought to have peculiar value.⁷

The treaty between Bohemund and Alexius was attested among others by 'the most pious head of the revered monastery' of St. Andrew's at Brindisi with two of his monks.⁸ It is to the scholarly monk Euthymius Zigabenus that Alexius entrusts the compiling of a 'Panoply' against heretics, while the *καθηγούμενοι* of monasteries help him in training his orphan charges, and Anna speaks of all the learned among the 'Naziraeans' taking part in the controversy with the Bogomiles.⁹ There is no hint in the *Alexias* that monastic morals (as well as their standard

¹ II. 9, pp. 61, 62, and see the whole story in Zonaras and Nicephorus Bryennius. When this Caesar took part in the Comnenus conspiracy he was living on his own estates, though he had retained the monastic garment (II. 6, p. 55).

² XIV. 7, p. 448.

³ I. 8, p. 19; III. 5, p. 81.

⁴ IX. 4, p. 253; XIII. 1, p. 377.

⁵ *Hist.* I, 6, p. 8; see also *Alexias*, I. 8, p. 19.

⁶ *Hyle*, IV. 27, p. 102. See p. 296, note 1, above.

⁷ XV. 8, pp. 486, 487, and 10 p. 494. See p. 69, note 6, above.

⁸ XIII. 12, p. 415.

⁹ XV. 7, p. 482; 9, p. 490; and 10, p. 492. This word, derived from the Hebrew word *nāzīr*, 'separate', is found in ecclesiastical writings as early as the fourth century. Psellus uses it contemptuously for fighting monks (*Chron. Theod., Byz.* I., pp. 186-7), but in the *Alexias* it is merely a rhetorical term for 'monks' in general. See p. 100, note 1, above.

of learning) were as deplorable as we know them from other sources to have been,¹ causing the reforms of St. Christodulus² to be badly needed. Under Alexius also John, Patriarch of Antioch, ventured to attack the imperial custom of granting to great laymen monasteries which were consequently exposed to worldly temptations and relaxations of rule,³ and at the end of the twelfth century Bishop Eustathius of Thessalonica was still complaining that the monks in his diocese were insubordinate, lazy, luxurious, oppressors of the peasants, and utterly uneducated.⁴ Very different is Anna's picture of holy monks depending on the hospitality of Anna Dalassena,⁵ and of Iberian nuns accustomed to 'go from door to door' till Alexius gave them 'a great convent, providing also for their food and appropriate garments'.⁶ It is true that when Alexius is preparing to restore the church treasures which he had on two occasions, once through his brother Isaac and once personally, 'borrowed' for military needs, the 'curators of the holy monasteries' bring their *βρέβια* or inventories in which are recorded the 'gifts made of old by many to the holy houses'.⁷ This argues riches, and the outcome argues power, among the monks, for Alexius makes handsome restitution and promises never to err in the same way again. In this instance only do we find the Autocrator bowing before the Church,⁸ and here the matter was so serious that Alexius

¹ See p. 136, above.

² In 1088 Alexius, confirming the previous donation of Anna Dalassena, gave him Patmos for the site of a new monastery (Zach. v. Lingenthal, *Jus Gr. Rom.*, Vol. III, pp. 370-5. See Le Barbier, *St. Christodule et la réforme des couvents grecs*, chs. III, IV). This, according to the *Encycl. Brit.*, 'was the origin of the monastery of St. John which now owns the greater part of the southern half of Patmos'. The founder is buried in the church, which contains a chalice and embroidered crown possibly sent by Alexius from St. Sophia.

³ Chalandon, *op. cit.* ch. x, pp. 282 sqq., deals at some length with this question.

⁴ *De emend. vit. mon.* (P. G. 135, cols. 729-909). He ascribes much of the evil to rich endowments. The monks revelled in hot baths and fine clothes, and were so fat with over-eating that they had to ride. The Abbot was no better. He excepts the monks of Constantinople from his strictures. Prodromus inveighs against the luxury of *ἡγούμενοι* (*Poèmes Prodromiques*, pp. 49-71).

⁵ III. 8, p. 88. She was kind to 'priests and monks', *καὶ ἄλλως φιλομόναχος οὔσα*, so that she listened to the flatteries of Eustratius Garidas (III. 2, p. 75). Loparev, in his *Life of St. Cyril Philoteos* (reviewed in *B. Z.* VII, p. 480), says she was kind to this saint; Alexius used also to visit him in his cloister 'with his whole family'.

⁶ XV. 7, p. 485. The same passage mentions 'the work of deaconesses', but unfortunately without explaining it.

⁷ V. 2, p. 129 A and D; VI. 3, p. 156. These curators correspond to the *οἰκονόμοι* of the twenty-sixth Canon of Chalcedon.

⁸ Putting the two 'borrowings' together, we find that he and Isaac make four separate excuses. First, the laws of Justinian (Novel 120, ch. 9) and the canons of the Church allowed their deed, because the money in the Emperor's hands went to conquer 'infidels', an equivalent to ransoming or preserving Christians from bondage, and so to the permitted exception as given by Du Cange (note on

published a Golden Bull 'as a sure protection' to all God's churches, expressing his own repentance and forbidding that such thefts (which according to Anna had been perpetrated by others before him)¹ should be repeated till the end of time. His daughter tells us nothing of this, but the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* gives the curious document in full.² The Emperor had done his deed, he says, in all innocence, thinking circumstances demanded it, but God was angry and the cause of His anger was explained to him by 'spiritual and godly men' to be these thefts. So he will make restitution, and he lays on all future emperors 'the bond of God, never to dare to touch sacred things *κᾶν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη βιάζεται*'. For men must use their own possessions and leave God His.

Monasteries, we may observe, were put to various uses. In that of SS. Cosmo and Damian outside the city George Palaeologus keeps his personal property stored, and Irene's mother Maria is found staying; here later on Bohemund was lodged as the Emperor's guest.³ To the nunnery of the Petriae the Emperor Botaniates consigns the leading women of the Comnenus and Ducas families, pending the result of their kinsmen's revolt.⁴ From the 'so-called Pege monastery' as his base Italus

V. 2, p. 128 A. See also VI. 3, pp. 156, 157): 'Rerum et cimeliorum ecclesiasticorum alienatio prohibetur, excepta causa redemptionis captivorum.'

Secondly, some at least of the churches despoiled were 'long unused and deserted', so that their property 'ministered to no need'. They came under the 'superfluous possessions' which Justinian (*loc. cit.* ch. 10) allowed in certain cases to be taken. When Anna says that Isaac Comnenus recited to the Synod the 'Canons' on this point, she doubtless means all the relevant civil and canonical ordinances of which Bishop Leo of Chalcedon showed himself deplorably ignorant, consonant as they were with 'economics' and 'justice' (V. 2, and VII. 4, p. 199).

Thirdly, the Emperor did but follow the example of great men of old, Pericles, and David with the shewbread.

Fourthly, he intended to make and did actually make manifold restitution for a very small 'loan'. Anna admits that otherwise it would have been 'a theft or plot of tyrannical violence' (VI. 3, p. 155).

At the same time she wishes us to believe the investigation to have proved that nothing had been taken away except the ornamentations of gold and silver laid on the coffin of the great Empress Zoe, and a few other objects not actually counting for the sacred cult' (VI. 3, p. 156) apparently including other 'silver and gold laid on to the doors of St. Mary in Chalcopratia' (V. 2, p. 127). This can hardly be true, in view of the great opposition aroused and of the handsome yearly sum paid in compensation by Alexius (VI. 3, p. 157). See p. 253, above.

¹ VI. 3, p. 156.

² It is also in Zach. v. Lingenthal, *Jus Gr.-Rom.* Vol. III, pp. 355-8.

³ II. 6, pp. 54, 55; X. 11, p. 302. Palaeologus removes his possessions on the back of the monks' beasts of burden. We have mentioned in another connexion the passage where Nicephorus Bryennius tells us that the two Comneni who were wards of Basil II lived in the Studium monastery, partly for its edifying atmosphere, partly to be near the country for drilling and hunting (*Hyle*, I. 1, p. 17).

⁴ II. 5, p. 54. The leave granted them to supply their needs from their own houses must have been a welcome relief to the resources of the convent.

appears to have done his official work as Chief of the Philosophers, after Psellus had become a monk and left his post and the capital. The Prefect of Constantinople lodges at Thessalonica in a monastery of St. John the Evangelist.¹

Other monasteries mentioned by Anna are 'the Patriarch's near Propontis', so called from the Patriarch St. Ignatius who was once its abbot and was buried there,² and the monastic churches of Christ our Surety at Constantinople and of the Holy Trinity at Venosa, which contained the tombs of the Empress Zoe and of Robert Guiscard respectively.³ But she tells little or nothing about what went on inside these cloisters, and we owe our knowledge of their rules and functions in general to the various *Typika* that have survived from her day. We are fortunate enough to possess several,⁴ notably the *Diataxis* of Attaliates about the monastery which he founded, the *Typikon* of Pacurianus' monastery near the river Vardar, and in Constantinople those of Irene's convent of the Cecharitomene (where the nuns not only fasted and worked but prayed for the dead of the imperial family⁵ as well as sheltering its living members), and of the Pantocrator and Cosmosoteira. On all of these we have touched when considering Byzantine philanthropy; here we are regarding them purely as evidences of monastic activity male and female. We have unfortunately not got the *Typikon* of the Philanthropos monastery which Alexius erected to be his burial-place,⁶ but we may assume it to have been one of these same institutions, concerned with the service of man no less than of God. But of this aspect of monastic life Anna Comnena gives no inkling; her monks only pray and sing hymns and perform sacred rites.

We must now say a final word about the privileges of the Church as a whole. Quite early in Anna's story⁷ we read of

¹ V. 8, p. 145; XII. 4, p. 355, where the word is *τέμενος*, here clearly meaning the monastic buildings attached to the church.

² X. 10, p. 298, and see Du Cange's note.

³ VI. 3, p. 157, and 6, p. 163. The place of Zoe's burial is obscure. See Du Cange's notes on VI. 3, pp. 156 B and 157 B.

⁴ On *Typika*, see *G. B. L.* pp. 316-19; also Oeconomos, *Vie religieuse*, chs. X, XI; Diehl, *Fig. Byz.*, Series II, pp. 64 sqq.; and *P. G.* 127, cols. 985-1120. See also Ch. 18 above.

⁵ The strictest precedence in honour was observed, and the anniversaries of some deaths were observed with far greater lavishness (of money spent on the poor) than others. Among the other minute regulations in Irene's *Typikon* we find that every nun had to have a monthly bath (cf. pp. 113, 135, 298, note 4, above), and the eunuch doctor, the only layman admitted within the walls, might prescribe more if he thought fit (*P. G.* 127, col. 1080).

⁶ *Anon. Syn. Chron.*, p. 186; Nic. Acom. *John C.* 2, p. 6. Leib (*op. cit.* p. 259), speaks of a monastery hospice for *Latins* promised or actually founded by Alexius near Nicaea. No records of this remain.

⁷ II. 5, p. 52.

Sanctuary, so well known in western Christendom. She speaks of 'the church of Bishop Nicolas, which they are wont to call the Refuge up to this day, once built long ago near the Great Church,¹ for the safety of those convicted upon charges . . . so that every one convicted upon a charge if he manages to get into it might thereupon be freed from the penalty of the laws'. She adds, as though to remind us of the Emperor's claim to be head of the Church: 'For the emperors and Caesars of old thought their subjects worthy of much care.' In this church the most sacred spot is at τὰ εἰσόδια τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος (chancel), and here Anna Dalassena sits on the ground clinging fast to the 'holy doors' and refusing to move.² The same idea makes the womenfolk even of rebels as secure from harm in the 'τέμενος of the Mother of God' as in a fortress,³ and causes the dethroned Botaniates 'fearing the recklessness of the army' to enter St. Sophia and feel safe.⁴ The serious trouble and expense which Alexius, as we have just seen, brought upon himself not only from the clergy but from senate and army and people by taking Church property shows the sanctity attached to churches as such. The Emperor might be the Head of the Church, but he had no rights over its buildings and no power over its purse.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

46. ORTHODOX DOCTRINE

FROM consideration of the outward mechanism of the Church we will now pass to matters of dogma, but of dogma in the abstract as opposed to the practical results on Anna's character of her religious beliefs, an aspect of her personality which we have already considered. The purely intellectual standpoint about doctrine is one which certainly interested Greeks more than Latins always, and scholars of the twelfth century more than those of our own times. In Anna's case such interest was honestly come by, for theological zeal

¹ Du Cange says that from the first St. Sophia had this right of sanctuary. Note on II. 5, p. 52 c.

² II. 5, p. 53. We may compare the classical idea of altars as places of sanctuary, (Thuc. V. 60 and VIII. 84), and the 'Cities of Refuge' in the Old Testament.

³ II. 6, p. 55.

⁴ II. 12, p. 68. This makes it all the more surprising that one church in the Palace at Constantinople was apparently treated as a public passage-way, with a 'door freely open to all' into an unroofed court on one side, and other unlocked doors leading into the imperial bedchamber on the other (XII. 6, p. 361).

was traditional in the Palace at Constantinople and even in its Gynaecium. As early as the fifth century the orthodox Cyril had been supported by Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II, while his enemy the heretic Nestorius found a champion in the Empress Eudocia. This rivalry of the royal sisters-in-law may well have set the fashion of theology among the ladies of the court, a fashion kept up by the great Theodora¹ of the sixth century and reaching its height under the lesser Theodora who ended the Iconoclastic movement. The Eastern Empire as we have said was the home of both heresies and councils, so that we must not be surprised to find a Byzantine princess talking glibly of canons and decrees and abstruse dogmas which are mere ghosts of the past to us. With her especially it was a case of 'bon chien chasse de race', for in her own family she had two ardent theologians. Irene could hardly eat her meals for her absorption in the Fathers² ('the blessed men', as they are once called) and above all in St. Maximus the Confessor,³ difficult as he seemed to her daughter to understand. Alexius throughout the history takes upon him the role of Defender of the Faith, 'Thirteenth Apostle',⁴ combating heresy in every form, and by precept and example encouraging the study of 'the sacred books'⁵ above all other forms of culture.⁶ For, as Rambaud has told us, 'la propagande religieuse' was the supreme glory of a Byzantine emperor.⁷

It is the fundamental maxim of Oeconomos⁸ book before quoted that 'l'empire de l'Orient n'était redevable de son unité qu'à l'alliance du christianisme avec l'hellénisme'. This fact

¹ She was a zealous champion of the Monophysite heresy, and as such the opponent of her husband Justinian in his enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.

² V. 9, pp. 147, 148; XII. 3, p. 351. Possibly the passage about Maria the Protovestiar's acquaintance with Euthymius Zigabenus means that she too was interested in theology (XV. 9, p. 490).

³ Born at Constantinople about 580, and a distinguished opponent of the Monophysite and Monothelite heresies. Many quotations from him occur in the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus (*P. G.* 130), i.e. concerning the Trinity (cols. 95 sq.), Deity (cols. 141 and 204), the Incarnation (col. 229), and the Eutychian heresy (cols. 1021 sqq.). Maximus is one of the nine Greek fathers in the miniature of Cod. vat. gr. 666, of which the other side, with Christ and the Emperor Alexius, is reproduced in Chalandon's book so often quoted.

⁴ XIV. 8, p. 453.

⁵ These 'sacred books' apparently comprised the Bible and the writings of the Fathers (*τῶν ἁγίων*) and formed part of general education (X. 1, p. 269).

⁶ V. 9, p. 148. So he contended against Bishop Leo, Italus, Nilus, the Manichaeans and the Bogomiles, and trained his son-in-law on the same lines (XIV. 8, p. 453). We also possess a treatise of his against Monophysitism. This zeal is as we might expect his special glory in the eyes of Euthymius Zigabenus.

⁷ *L'empire byzantin au Xe siècle*. See Cinnamus, *Hist.* VI, ch. 2.

⁸ *La vie religieuse dans l'emp. byz.* p. 11 (opening sentence).

made Byzantium for centuries the natural champion of orthodoxy against heathen philosophy, and against heresies and superstitions within the Church,¹ much though her work was hampered by the 'Caesaropapism' of her Emperor and the low moral and intellectual standard of many among her clergy. When in 1054 East and West separated, the Byzantines felt all the more bound to defend Christianity on their side of the world. Their Erastian views as to Church and State made them tolerant to people totally outside the Orthodox fold (such as the Latin Christians, who had a different faith from themselves, just as they had a different sovereign), but ferocious in their intolerance towards heretics who should have been loyal servants but were not. For like the Athenians of St. Paul's time, very many members of the Eastern Church were δεισδαιμονέστεροι, and such preoccupation had combined with ignorance to produce a recrudescence of abnormal beliefs. The virulence of Anna's attack on astrology² clearly shows that it had a great hold on her contemporaries, in spite of the many attempts of past emperors to uproot it.³ Just before her own day Michael Psellus, the most important intellectual personage of the eleventh century, had turned from Aristotle to Plato, and with him had revived not only learning in general but also all the recondite doctrines of the Neo-Platonic school.⁴ Against these not only Alexius but his grandson Manuel fought the good fight with far more zeal than the clergy under them,⁵ and it is abundantly evident that of all Anna's sources of pride over her father this was the deepest and greatest. We will consider in detail the heresies dealt with in her book, after a few preliminary remarks on general points of doctrine.

Anna has on the whole very few references to the universally accepted and non-controversial articles of our faith. She alludes once to the Incarnation in terms that we might use now ('the Only Begotten Who became man for our sakes')⁶ and that were probably inspired by the Nicene Creed. She mentions the Transfiguration⁷ and Our Lord's miracles (one of

¹ For the various Eastern heresies with unfamiliar names we can look at Nic. Acom. *Thes. Orth. Fid.* Bk. IV (P.G. 139, Latin version). Among the forty-four attacked by him we find the Carpocrateni, Tessaresdecatistae, Thnetopsychitae, and Parhermeneutae.

² VI. 7.

³ G. B. L. p. 627.

⁴ V. 8.

⁵ Nic. Acom. (*Man. Conn.* VII. 5, p. 136) disapproves of theological activities in laymen, even though sovereigns, and seems to admire Andronicus I for refusing to have such subjects discussed in his tent, greatly as he honoured learned men (*Andr. Conn.* II, ch. 5, p. 213). Cinnamus does not take this view.

⁶ XV. 7, p. 484.

⁷ III. 6, p. 84.

them inaccurately, as we saw in considering her Biblical knowledge¹), and on more than one occasion the incidents of His Passion.² The difficulty caused by the fact that Alexius says to the Crusaders, apparently on Maundy Thursday, 'Revere the God slain to-day for us all' may be explained either by seeing an allusion to 'the presanctified Host consecrated on Maundy Thursday',³ or by taking *τήμερον* more vaguely, as 'at this season' (which would be quite in keeping with Anna's loose way of using terms that in classical Greek have a precise meaning), or by supposing that the 'frequent summonings' of Alexius did not succeed in collecting the Latins together till the next day, Good Friday itself.⁴ The Resurrection comes into the same passage,⁵ and 'the Holy Tomb' figures throughout as the great magnet for pilgrims to Jerusalem.

In all this there is nothing to arrest our attention. It is only when she turns to controversial points that Anna becomes impassioned. Heretics are always arrogant and obstinate; the honourable term 'inflexible' (*ἀμεταμέλητος, ἀμετάθετος, or ἀμετακλήης*) becomes a reproach when applied to them.⁶ Bishop Leo overclouds his 'superabundance of virtue' by ignorance and obstinacy in false doctrines. A proud barbarian is said to 'breathe forth the spirit of Novatus',⁷ the third-century Carthaginian presbyter often confounded with the better-known Novatian who shared his extreme and harsh views as to the perpetual exclusion of the lapsed.⁸ The blind scholar Didymus 'had arrived at the summit of music and geometry', but spoilt all his attainments by falling into 'an absurd heresy'.⁹ Indeed

¹ XV. 7; see p. 196 above.

² Maundy Thursday is the day of 'the Mystic Passover' (II. 10, p. 64). The Lance, Nails, Cross, and Crown of thorns are spoken of in VIII. 9, p. 242; X. 9, p. 295; XI. 6; XIII. 12, p. 415; XIV. 1, p. 419. In XIV. 3, p. 431 she says it was Christ, afterwards the Sufferer and the Crucified, who gave manna to the Israelites and led them across the Red Sea.

³ See Murray's *Eng. Dict.* s.v. *Presanctify*.

⁴ X. 9, p. 295.

⁵ Also XIV. 2, p. 428.

⁶ X. 1, p. 270; XV. 8, p. 489; 10, p. 492, and cf. *σιδήρεος* XIV. 9, p. 457. To the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* the common herd is *δεινὸς καὶ δυσμάχητος* as to doctrine, a doubtful merit, p. 179. The heretic Basil is 'a donkey hearing a lyre but not comprehending it' (*ibid.* p. 181). Theophylact applies to all heretics the words in *Matt.* vii. 15, about wolves in 'sheep's clothing' (*Comm. on Matt., P. G.* 123, col. 213), which later writers use specially for the Bogomiles.

⁷ VI. 12, p. 179; X. 7, p. 288.

⁸ See W. Bright, *Canons of the First Four Councils*, p. 29, note on Nicaea Canon VIII concerning the 'Novatians or self-styled Cathari'. L. Pullan, *The Church of the Fathers*, p. 163, says that by preaching that 'the Church cannot forgive mortal sin' they 'ministered as much to spiritual pride in the unfallen as to despair in the fallen'. Hence the adoption of the name as the archetype of arrogance.

⁹ IX. 10, p. 266. The extant writings of Didymus the Blind, the fourth-century

there is nothing which in Anna's eye heresy cannot spoil; it is a taint, a corruption, an unforgivable sin.¹

The dead-and-gone Novatus and Didymus, to say nothing of Alexius' living heretical foes, are singled out by name for reprobation. But at least two other heresies, that of Nestorius and that of the Theopaschites, are so to speak glanced at by Anna on more than one occasion. By insisting on the term Theotokos, Theometor,² Anna expresses her belief that the B.V.M. was not only the mother of the human nature of Christ but 'the Mother of God'. Possibly she had read in the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus³ the quotation from John Damascene,

writer of Alexandria, i.e. exegetical fragments and treatises *De Trinitate*, *De Spiritu Sancto*, preserved in Saint Jerome's Latin translation, show practically no signs of the heresies which caused him to be condemned by the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh General Councils; they contain only a slight trace of belief in the pre-existence of the soul. In the Fifth Council (Constantinople II, 553) he is anathematized in the edict by which the Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople gave effect to the decrees of the Council. In Canon I of the non-oecumenical Council in Trullo, 692, called by Justinian II to set down the decisions of the Fifth and of the Sixth (Constantinople III, 681) there is a reference to the sentence passed on Origen and Didymus and Evagrius, 'all of whom brought back again the circlings of certain bodies and souls and deranged transmigrations'. In 787, at the Seventh General Council (or Nicaea II), the letter of the Synod to the Emperor and Empress, and also its final decree, anathematize 'the fables of Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius, in accordance with the decision of the Fifth Council held at Constantinople'. Had Anna seen heretical writings of Didymus now lost to us? Or was she simply going by the decisions of the Councils? Probably the latter.

¹ Anna twice applies *λύμη* to the contagion or taint of heresy (X. 1, p. 270; XV. 8, p. 489). In IX. 6, p. 257; 9, p. 263, she uses it of the evil influence of Nicephorus Diogenes. The Definition of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon, which she may well have studied, has *τοῦ ψεύδους λύμη*; cf. Nic. Acom. (*John C.*, 12, p. 31) of the *λύμη βιοφθόρος* of scurrility and luxury. In the 'Trial of Italus' men must avoid contagion even from repentant heretics (*Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, Vol. II, p. 57). Zigabenus, in the Preface to the *Panoplia*, speaks of heresies as *ιοβόλα καὶ θεοστύγη*. Heretics are said (in the *Synodikon for the First Sunday in Lent*, Ouspensky, *Journ. of Univ. of Odessa*, Vol. 59, p. 420) to 'spit forth the venom of loathsome heresy'.

² I. 16, p. 38; II. 5, p. 53; IV. 2, p. 105; VI. 9, p. 170; XII. 6, p. 361; XV. 11, p. 501.

³ *P.G.* 130, col. 1008. This learned monk and his task are thus described by Anna, XV. 9, p. 490: 'I send those who wish to read about the whole heresy of the Bogomiles to the book called the *Doctrinal Panoply*, composed by order of my father. For the Emperor sent for a certain monk called Zygabenus, known to the imperial lady who was my maternal grandmother, and also to all those of the ecclesiastical register. He had arrived at the summit of letters (*γραμματική*) and was not unmindful of rhetoric, and understood dogma like no one else. On him he enjoined to set forth all the heresies each by itself and after each to write down the refutations of the holy Fathers, including the heresy of these Bogomiles as that impious Basil had expounded it. This book the Emperor named the *Doctrinal Panoply*, and to this day the writings are so called.' This account agrees with what Zigabenus himself, full of admiration and praise for his sovereign's theological zeal, says in his Preface to the work, and also in his three Poems to Alexius, published by C. Neumann in his *Gr. Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 33-5. The quotations from the Fathers are arms collected to 'overthrow the walls of doctrines hated by God and deceiving the people'.

calling Nestorius 'impure, horrible, a Jew in mind,'¹ a vessel of dishonour', for denying that Mary was θεοτόκος² and for styling Christ 'God-bearer' (θεοφόρος) instead of God incarnate.

The heresy of the Theopaschites is described by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as 'a variety of Monophysitism', held by 'those who accepted the formula that in the death of Christ God had suffered and been crucified'. Anna is doubtless alluding to this controversial question when she speaks of τὰ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθούς καὶ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ.³ If we turn to Leontius of Byzantium⁴ we find a long discussion as to how the Second Person of the Impassible Trinity could be passible, i.e. suffer on our behalf. Arguments and counter-arguments follow at bewildering length, but one thing is made clear: the Divine Nature of each Person of the Trinity is impassible, and though Christ was passible before His Resurrection, He became impassible afterwards, and thereby achieved 'the impassibility of all human nature for all ages'. St. Ignatius puts the matter shortly:⁵ Christ, Son of Mary and of God, was first παθητός, καὶ τότε (i.e. after His Resurrection) ἀπαθής. It is surely possible that τότε (after ἀπαθούς) may have fallen out of the text of the *Alexias* in the passage just quoted.⁶

¹ Under the circumstances the absence of references to the Jews in the *Alexias* is remarkable. We read of 'Hebrews' in Jerusalem (XI. 6, p. 327), of Zedekiah, the last King of the Jews (VII. 3, p. 195), and of a few men with possibly Jewish names, two Aarons (XIII. 1), Solomon (XII. 5 and 6), and Elias, of whom the three first were conspirators and the last may have been a runaway slave (X. 7, p. 288). Osler (*Life*, Vol. II, p. 403) says: 'In the early Middle Ages the Jewish physicians played a role of the first importance as preservers and transmitters of ancient knowledge. With the fall of Rome the broad stream of Greek science in Western Europe . . . filtered through in three streams—one in South Italy, the other in Byzantium, and a third through Islam. . . . With the Byzantine stream the Jews seem to have had little to do.' Jorga (p. 143) says that Jews took no part in public life at Constantinople.

² On the other hand it is instructive to find Italus treated as 'absurd or impious' for believing in τὴν Θεοτόκον whereas it is only right to believe in Deity (θεότης); he ought to have said that he believed that the Theotokos was a virgin and was θεοτόκος κυρίως ('Trial of Italus', *loc. cit.* p. 54).

³ XIII. 12, p. 415.

⁴ P. G. 86, 1768 d, chs. vi–xi, and cf. Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* (P. G. 6, col. 908).

⁵ *Epistle to the Ephesians* (P. G. 5, col. 652).

⁶ The dogma involved was one on which the Greek theologians bestowed much thought, as we see from the quotations in the *Panoplia*. It is correct to say that 'God suffered in the flesh', incorrect to say that Deity (θεότης) did so (P. G. 130, col. 257). Athanasius said of St. Paul οὐ τὴν θεότητα πεπονθέναι φησὶν . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσλημμα, i.e. the assumed human flesh (col. 309). The same Father made use of this phrase Θεὸς ὢν ἀπαθὴς σάρκα παθητὴν ἔλαβεν (col. 448). St. John Damascene said, 'The impassible divinity of the Word, joined in hypostatic union with the flesh, when the flesh suffered, remained impassible' (col. 1064). Gregory Nazianzen spoke of Christ as παθητὸς σαρκί, ἀπαθὴς θεότητι (col. 884). Perhaps the best explanation, if such a word can be used, is that quoted by Zigabenus from Athanasius, stating that when we say 'Christ' we refer to the conjunction of the two

Two other theological terms are used by Anna in a technical though not a controversial sense, *θεολογία* and *οἰκονομία*. Liddell and Scott thus define the former word: 'the doctrine of the Divine Nature of Christ, opposed to *οἰκονομία*, His human nature'. Both are the objects of the Bogomiles' derision.¹ Elsewhere Anna often uses *οἰκονομία* in the non-religious sense of 'arrangement, contrivance', and the like.²

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

47. THE PAPACY

WE now come to the passages where Anna definitely challenges and condemns some idea as false. The first person of whom she falls foul is the Pope. To begin with, it is noticeable that she never gives him his name, whether it is Gregory VII, 1073-85³ (whose relations with Robert Guiscard and Henry of Germany are described at considerable length), or his short-lived successor Victor III, 1086-7, or Urban II, 1088-99, whose part in the First Crusade she passes over in complete silence,⁴ or Paschal II, 1099-1118, whom Bohemund, according to her, won over by libels on the Greeks but who sends to Alexius an

natures. 'And thus it is possible to say correctly that Christ suffered, since this name signifies two things at once, the impassible Word and the passible flesh' (col. 1104).

In his *Discourse against Armenians* (*Anal. Hierosol.* I, p. 119) Alexius himself deals with this question, saying: 'He suffered in the flesh passible by nature, and not the Deity but the flesh underwent death. For the Deity being impassible in its nature remained impassible, but the flesh suffered being passible. For this reason there are two natures in the one person of Christ, one passible, the other impassible.' With such a father we cannot wonder at Anna's theological meticulousness.

¹ XV. 8, p. 488. The two are coupled together in a quotation from St. John Damascene in Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 188, as follows: οὐδὲ πάντα ἄρρητα οὐδὲ πάντα ῥητά, τὰ τε τῆς θεολογίας τὰ τε τῆς οἰκονομίας. The word *θεολογία* constantly occurs in the *Panoplia* meaning 'Godhead'. In the *Chalcedonian Definition of Faith* (W. Bright, *op. cit.* p. xxxiv) we get τὸ τῆς δι' ἡμᾶς τοῦ κυρίου οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, which Bright translates as 'the sacred truth of the Incarnation' (of the Lord for our sakes). In *Panoplia*, col. 56, we get the phrase that Christ is τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν οἰκονομῶν. Ottley (*Doctrine of the Incarnation*, p. 565) says this theological use of *οἰκονομία* was derived from *Eph.* I. 10, where A.V. translates 'Dispensation'.

² e.g. V. 2, p. 129; XI. 5, p. 322; XII. 1, p. 347; XIII. 9, p. 401, and 12, p. 408; XIV. 2, p. 427. In the *Prologue* to her will Anna has the curious expression: ὁ τρόπος τῆς οἰκονομίας, meaning in this instance Death (line 11).

³ I. 13; III. 10, p. 93; and V. 3. Gregory died in the same year as Robert, 1085.

⁴ See the reasons she gives for the Crusade in X. 5.

envoy mentioned as a witness to the Norman treaty.¹ In the second place, she is at great pains to represent the Pope as a mere man, with characteristics like other men, capable indeed of most shocking actions. Oster blames her severely for having circulated a wholly untrue report that Gregory VII mutilated the envoys of Henry of Germany,² and explains the circumstance on which the report was founded. In this instance prejudice may have made her glad to believe hearsay evidence, but it is hard to see how at her distance she could have verified it, especially as after the events of her fifth Book all connexion with the German Empire seems to have ceased.

But even in the incidents which she describes truthfully her tone about the Papacy is antagonistic and almost contemptuous.³ The great investiture contest between Gregory and Henry is dismissed in a few words. The Emperor is accused of 'selling benefices for gifts, and bestowing episcopal honours on unworthy men',⁴ while the vital fact thus expressed by Chalandon,⁵ 'depuis la mort de Léon VIII (965) c'est le consentement de l'empereur [d'occident] qui fait la légitimité du pape', receives from her this cursory notice:⁶ 'But the King of Germany accused the Pope of tyranny' [in the sense of 'usurpation of power'] 'because he had seized the apostolic throne without his consent.' If he does not give it up the Emperor will turn him out *μεθ' ὕβρεως*. We must not forget that since the final breach of 1054 with Rome in the time of Pope Leo IX and the Patriarch Cerularius, the Eastern Christians had had less occasion for exact knowledge about Papal affairs.⁷ In this case at any rate Anna represents the Pope as tacitly admitting the Emperor's claim, and glad enough to be reinstated on his throne by Robert Guiscard, though not till after hesitation and

¹ XII. 8; XIII. 12, p. 416. In 1091 Alexius was expecting 'mercenaries from Rome' (VIII. 5, p. 230), i. e. from Urban II—and ten years earlier than that he had tried to make an alliance with 'the Pope of Rome' [Gregory VII] 'against Robert' (III. 10, p. 93).

² I. 13, p. 31. She calls the Pope a barbarian and *κατάπυτος*, and says his deed especially against envoys was 'most monstrous, exceeding barbaric violence', and 'unworthy not only of a bishop, but of any man bearing even the name of Christian'.

³ She does indeed begin by saying that the Papal throne was 'a noble sovereignty, defended by troops of all sorts' (I. 13, p. 30), but she at once proceeds to depreciate its possessor.

⁴ I. 13, p. 31. We may compare Canon II of the Council of Chalcedon against simony and kindred faults.

⁵ *Hist. de la domination normande*, p. 26. He cites in support Mgr. Duchesne's *Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, p. 346.

⁶ I. 13, p. 31.

⁷ Letters had however passed between the Byzantine court and the Pope, as a reference to Hagenmeyer's *Kreuzzugsbriefe* will show. See p. 312 below.

delays and excuses of a mortifying nature.¹ In other ways Gregory is like any other 'barbarian'. He makes mundane alliances and then breaks his oath; he goes to war, 'this man of peace and disciple of the Man of Peace', and is allured by the same bribes as any temporal monarch.² About Paschal II she is frankly patronizing. When Bohemund crosses to Italy in 1105 and rouses hatred against Alexius,³ he first of all manages by a skilful piece of propaganda⁴ to 'persuade the archi-hieratical (i.e. Papal) mind that it had been reasonably stirred up against the hostility of the Greeks', and so wins the sympathy of 'many among the more boorish and ignorant' Italians. Then follows the comment: 'For who of the barbarians near and far would not have come of his own accord to war against us, when the archi-hieratical mind was inclined that way, and when a man apparently fair-minded was arming all his horse and men and military forces?' Surely no rabid Protestant could have been more anxious to belittle the Successor of St. Peter.⁵

Her attitude is indeed dictated by Orthodox loyalty, which makes all her remarks about the popes 'tendencious'. It is therefore worth while to consider even at some length what the Greek position then was. We will begin by quoting in full Anna's remarks in Book I, ch. 13.

'This', i.e. the mutilation of the German envoys,

'was the deed of the chief bishop and of one who had become president of the whole inhabited world, as indeed the Latins say and think, for such is their vain pretension. Whereas, when the sceptre passed from Rome hither to our native land and our imperial city, the episcopal rank of sovereignty passed also as a matter of course. And from the beginning the emperors have given the pre-eminence to the bishop's throne of Constantinople, and especially the Council of Chalcedon brought the see of Constantinople up to the highest place, and set the dioceses throughout the world under it.'

As a matter of fact Anna's non-Catholic wish is father to her thought. The question of the relative positions and privileges

¹ I. 13, pp. 33, 34; V. 3, pp. 132, 133.

² I. 13; III. 10, p. 93. Thus he gives Robert Guiscard worldly reward for military aid (V. 3, p. 133). Strangely enough Anna does not mention what we know from a letter of his own, that he believed in the pseudo-Michael and did his best to arouse the faithful on that impostor's behalf (Leib, *op. cit.* pp. 16-18).

³ XII. 1 and 8.

⁴ He exhibits some Scythians captured from the Greek army as a proof that Alexius was using heathen savages to fight Christians (XII. 8, p. 367). See p. 88, note 4, above.

⁵ Yet she lets us see that a pilgrimage to Rome 'to worship at the shrine of the chief apostles' was common for Byzantine monks (I. 12, p. 29).

of Rome and Constantinople, as established by the Councils of Constantinople I (381) and Chalcedon (451),¹ is so ably dealt with in William Bright's *Canons of the first four General Councils* that we need only quote from his translation and his notes.

First, *Constantinople I, Canon III*. 'However, the Bishop of Constantinople is to have honorary pre-eminence (τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς) after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is the New Rome.'

Bright says:

'This is a brief but momentous provision connected with the preceding canon, which had ruled that bishops were not to interfere in the affairs of other dioceses. The word πρεσβεῖα by itself . . . means prerogatives or privileges; but here the qualifying addition τῆς τιμῆς limits its scope to an honorary precedence . . . as distinct from any peculiar authority. . . . Such a precedence, or priority of rank, or primacy of honour, is implicitly recognized as belonging to the see of Rome in regard to all other sees whatever, the Constantinopolitan included, even as in the secular order Old Rome continued to rank above New Rome.'

He continues: 'An absolute priority being reserved to the see of Rome, precedence over all other sees is conferred *de novo* on that of Constantinople.'

We come next to *Chalcedon, Canon XXVIII*:

'We, following in all things the determinations of the holy fathers, do ourselves also adopt the same determination and resolution respecting the privileges (πρεσβείων) of the most holy church of . . . Constantinople, New Rome. For the fathers naturally assigned privileges to the see (θρόνῳ) of the elder Rome, because that city was imperial; and taking the same point of view, the 150 religious bishops² awarded the same privileges to the most holy see of New Rome, judging with good reason that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed the same privileges with the elder imperial Rome, should also in matters ecclesiastical be dignified like her, holding the second place after her (δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν).'

The Greeks argued that if the reason assigned by *Chalcedon, Canon XXVIII* for Rome's supremacy (i.e. that it was 'imperial') was once admitted, then, when Empire had obviously ceased to exist at Rome and was in fact flourishing at Constantinople, the claims of Rome to supremacy were as a matter of course transferred to the New Rome her successor. Anna never calls

¹ Respectively the Second and Fourth General Councils.

² i.e. the Council of Constantinople I, 381. See Bright, *op. cit.* p. 91.

the Emperor of Germany 'Basileus' but only 'Rex', and thus even if it was at Rome that he theoretically reigned, this capital could not in her day be said βασιλεύειν. Against this point of view Bright makes the following statement in commenting on *Constantinople I, Canon III*:¹

'The reason given, because the city of Constantine is a New Rome, implies that the existing precedency of the Roman see has, like that of the Constantinopolitan, a basis simply political, the imperial majesty of Old Rome itself. . . . Such a representation was unfaithful to the facts. The Church of Rome was what it was, the first of all Churches, for a variety of reasons ecclesiastical as well as political. It owed much to the name of the City, but much also to the names of SS. Peter and Paul.'

As a matter of fact Rome admitted neither the premiss nor the Greek deduction from it. Her delegates claimed, in an early session of the Council of Chalcedon itself, several days before the twenty-eighth Canon was drawn up, that there was an ecclesiastical far more than a political ground for her 'ecclesiastical precedency', and that the Pope occupied the Chair of St. Peter.² And even the 'second' place was denied to Constantinople by the Papacy, which always put itself first, Alexandria second, and Antioch third, right down to the Lateran Council of 1215, by which time a *Latin* patriarchate had been established at Constantinople. Still, the twenty-eighth Canon being accepted and still held by the whole Eastern Church,³ it was possible for a Byzantine princess of the twelfth century without wilful disingenuousness to interpret it in the Greek fashion, and infer from it that with the passing of the political 'sceptre' from the Old Rome to the New, 'the episcopal rank of sovereignty' had also changed its place.⁴

The reason for what may be thought disproportionate length in dealing with this subject must now be given. Without a clear comprehension of Anna's views on the Papacy we cannot fully

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

² Bright, *op. cit.* pp. 226 sqq. Pope Leo I had claimed this six years before and Valentinian III had admitted it.

³ Bright, *op. cit.* p. 233.

⁴ S. Salaville in *Échos d'Orient*, XVII (1914), says, according to a review in *B. Z.* XXIII, p. 296, that Theodore of Studium (759-826) 'mit Entschiedenheit für den Primat des Petrus und des Papstes (inkl. Infallibilität) eintrat'. It was a much discussed point, throughout the centuries. Thus Leib (*op. cit.* p. 38, note 1) quotes a twelfth-century Slavonic text translated by M. Jugie, denying that Rome got her supremacy from her position as the capital of the Empire and asserting: 'C'est de la grâce divine que cette primauté a tiré son origine', because Christ said to St. Peter 'Feed my sheep'. Otherwise, argues the old writer, Milan and Ravenna would have had the primacy when the Emperors had their residence there.

appreciate her attitude towards Latin Christians and especially those of the Crusade. Her position is so to speak a double one, tolerance for Roman dogmas, wrath at Roman pretensions. Members of the Latin Church are most emphatically fellow-Christians,¹ whom not even the Thirteenth Apostle Alexius considers as heretics suitable for his proselytizing attacks; and as we have already said Anna has no more quarrel with their separate ecclesiastical allegiance than with their separate political.² Even Robert Guiscard and Bohemund, though accused of 'barbarism' and every kind of perfidy, are never blamed for schism. Ordinations in the two branches of the Church were for a long time interchangeable,³ and a Norman Duke of Antioch is willing to swear that the 'patriarch' of that see should always be appointed by the Emperor from the clergy of St. Sophia: 'Yea, let such an one mount the throne in Antioch and he shall perform all episcopal acts, in laying on of hands and the other ecclesiastical functions, according to the privilege of that throne.'⁴ (On the part of Alexius, as we have already had occasion to point out, this was doubtless a political precaution for strengthening Greek influence, not a religious one.⁵) Leib has devoted his whole book⁶ to proving that even after the rupture of 1054, though the Greek clergy might gird at the Latin ritual and regulations, there were amicable relations between Rome and Byzantium. Courteous messages and letters were interchanged,⁷ and care displayed for the other's interests;⁸ indeed the first Crusade itself was largely due to Papal sympathy with Greek troubles.⁹ Efforts at reunion to be achieved

¹ I. 12, p. 29; 13, p. 32; X. 8, p. 291, and 9, p. 295. In III. 10, p. 93, Alexius addresses the German Emperor as 'most Christian Brother'.

² It is only when they in her opinion break deliberate oaths of homage that they become 'rebels': there is no hint that they are rebels from the Christian Faith.

³ Celestine III (1191-8) had specially to instruct the Archbishop of Otranto 'que les ordinations doivent être faites par les évêques du même rite'. See Gay, paper read before Congress of Byzantinology, Bukharest, *Acad. Roum. Bull.*, Tome XI, p. 135.

⁴ XIII. 12, p. 413, date 1108.

⁵ After the death of the legate Adhémar in 1098 the Crusaders forcibly set up a Latin Patriarch at Antioch, and the Greek occupant of the see retired to Constantinople, where he doubtless influenced Alexius in the direction of the stipulation later exacted by treaty; see p. 294 above and pp. 475-6 below.

⁶ E. Caspar, in reviewing it in *B. Z.* XXVI (p. 102), demurs to its statements as one-sided.

⁷ Pope Victor II writes to Anna Dalassena as his dear daughter, prays for her and her family and exhorts her to remember Rome as her first mother. So Simeon Patriarch of Jerusalem joins with Adhémar the Legate in addressing to Pope Urban II a letter in the name of the clergy and laity of both communions.

⁸ Alexius refused to countenance the antipope Clement III.

⁹ The presence of Byzantine envoys at the Council of Piacenza, held in 1095 by Urban II, seems to Tout (*The Empire and the Papacy*, pp. 138, 175) a proof of Alexius' tendency towards 'imploping Latin help against the Turks', but Chalandon

by the calling of a Council were made, however fruitlessly, up to and even after 1204.¹ At Mount Athos 180 monasteries, Greek, Georgian, Armenian, and Latin, existed peaceably side by side. Alexius himself sent presents to the Abbots of Cluny and Monte Cassino, in addition to enriching the churches of Venice and Pisa, both faithful to Rome, while the Norman Count Roger in Magna Graecia founded Basilian houses as well as Cistercian, and the Popes favoured Grottaferrata. The prohibition by the Emperor of the Latin rite of unleavened bread in the Venetian, English, Amalfitan, and French churches of Constantinople was probably only a retaliation for his excommunication by Gregory VII, the champion of Michael VII. When the excommunication was removed (apparently not till the days of Urban II in 1089),² so was the prohibition. Not only sovereigns and generals but clergy and common people in the two communions remained on friendly terms,³ and the bond was always that of common Christianity.⁴ Differences of dogma and ritual, the famous 'Filioque' clause, and the Roman unleavened bread are never mentioned by Anna Comnena,⁵ and she is prepared to believe that God helped the

(*Alexis Ier*, pp. 155, 156) is probably right in holding (1) that Alexius merely 'pria Urbain II de l'aider à lever des mercenaires', (2) that at this particular Council the Greek envoys had come 'pour reprendre les négociations touchant la réunion des deux églises'. At the same time it is hard to disregard the statements of Ekkehard of Urach (*Hierosol.* chs. 5 and 6) and Bernold (*Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores V*, p. 462) that Alexius wrote many letters to the Pope and sent envoys 'ad hunc Synodum' imploring aid 'contra paganos'. Hagenmeyer (*Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 41) sees in these letters 'ein nicht unwesentlicher Faktor' towards the First Crusade. See Ch. 68, below.

¹ After the hopes of reunion had been dashed, first by the antipope, then by Urban II's death, and even though the crusade which should have united Latin and Greek Christians had obviously divided them, yet Paschal II resumed negotiations with Alexius. See his letter *Ep.* 437 (*P. L.* 163, cols. 388-9), where he says the first step must be for the Patriarch of Constantinople to accept 'primatum et reverentiam sedis apostolicae'.

² Bernold, *loc. cit.* p. 450.

³ Gay in the paper quoted above says (p. 134): 'Ce n'est pas entre les chrétiens des deux rites qu'il y a antagonisme et rupture.' *Anon. Gesta Francorum* describes in ch. 39 a joint religious service at Jerusalem for Greeks and Latins, with a procession and 'masses and prayers'.

⁴ *Anon. Gesta Francorum*, chs. 4 and 10, shows Bohemund and Tancred in Thrace and Asia Minor refusing to pillage 'Christians'. This is Anna's tone throughout; Greeks and Latins are to her equally 'Christian'. The massacre of Greek Christians by Latin crusaders in a village beyond the river Halys is a unique and puzzling incident (XI. 8, p. 331).

⁵ Photius in his *De S. Spiritus Mystagogia* rails for ninety-six chapters against the impiety, madness, arrogance, &c., of what he calls the *νέοι πνευματομάχοι*, even accusing them of falsifying texts (*P. G.* 102, cols. 280-392)—and Psellus hates the Latin clergy and doctrine (*B. G. Med.* IV, pp. 348 sqq.), but his pupil Theophylact (*P. G.* 126, cols. 221-49) makes light of Latin errors and blames any who criticize them harshly. He even says that he considers those errors 'neither many, nor adequate for dividing churches' (ch. i) and ascribes them 'not to wickedness

Crusaders.¹ She sees no objection to a marriage between Alexius' nephew and the German king's daughter,² and we know that such alliances were frequent and that the contracts never contained a word about abjuration on either side.

On the other hand, however harmless Roman Catholics might be as to ritual and dogma, the very claim of Papal supremacy marked them out as arrogant and presumptuous³ even beyond other 'barbarians', and this is the other side of what we have called Anna's double position. We shall deal with the Crusaders later, but we must never forget that her indignation over the Pope's absurd pretensions predisposed her to consider his followers as tainted with pride, overbearingness, and greed of power.⁴

of mind as much as to ignorance' (ch. IV). Euthymius Zigabenus hardly mentions the Latins in his *Panoplia*. Other Greek writers who dealt with Roman doctrines without bitterness were George the Hagiorite and John of Kiev, uncle of Theodore Prodromus, and the same mild spirit was shown on the other side by Anselm and Grosolano. Orthodox pilgrims went to Rome, as Latins to Constantinople. Even when the Normans had conquered South Italy and Sicily, 'là où les Grecs étaient en nombre, le clergé resta grec'. Everywhere 'où il n'est pas question de rivalités nationales ou politiques . . . le rite latin et le rite grec fusionnent dans l'union la plus parfaite' (Leib, *op. cit.* p. 99). As long after the schism as 1120 we find the Abbot of Cluny begging the Patriarch of Constantinople for his prayers, because though their languages are different they have one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

Early in the same century Guibert de Nogent, though reviling Alexius as a tyrant stained with awful crimes, and holding the Turkish invasions to be a punishment to the Greeks for their loss of true religion, yet charitably throws the blame of their heresies on the less heavy air of their country, producing lighter bodies and subtler minds.

¹ XI. 6. It may well be, as Leib believes, that the real tension between Greeks and Latins in the Crusade only began after the death of the tactful legate Adhémar. The persistent stealing of relics by the Latins must have been another cause; Peter the Hermit's band pillaged churches in and near Constantinople itself (*An. Gest. Fr.*, ch. 2).

² III. 10. The contract between Michael VII and Robert Guiscard betrothing Constantine to Helen still exists (Bezobrazov, *Russian Journ. Min. Instr. Publ.*, 1889, Tome 265).

³ Even the mild Theophylact says we must not accept the doctrines of the Latins *κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τοὺς λόγους ποιῶνται, ὃν ὑψηλὸν ὑψηλοὶ προτιθέασι, κἂν τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου ὁμολογίαν προβάλλωνται, κἂν τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνη μακαρισμὸν ἐπιφέρωσι, κἂν τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῖν ἐπισείωσιν* (*P. G.* 126, col. 241). There is no mistaking the half-amused resentment over such claims, and 'shaking of the Keys'.

⁴ This attitude of mind in Anna helps to account for her misrepresentation of the Catholic rules as to fighting clergy, of which we have already spoken.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

48. IMAGES

TURNING now to another controversial question, we find that one name brought forward in the uproar about church-robbery is that of Bishop Leo of Chalcedon, whose real error however was connected with a point in the Iconoclastic controversy. He withstood the alienation of Church treasure largely on the ground that its material was for ever sacred after having borne the likeness of Christ or some saint, and that it was sacrilegious to melt it down for military purposes. As the learned Ouspensky, quoted by Chalandon,¹ says, his theory was that: 'La matière dont sont faites les saintes images reste un objet saint, même lorsque l'image du saint ou du Christ en est effacée.' This was worshipping images *λατρευτικῶς*, οὐ σχετικῶς,² whereas the second Council of Nicaea (otherwise called the seventh General Council) had in 787 decided, while re-establishing the worship of images, that the sanctity of the material was 'accidental' and ceased as soon as the likeness was effaced. Anna's story is that the Emperor 'went on exhorting' Leo to 'change his opinion about images', and she implies that Alexius was supported by the 'more distinguished members of the Synod' when it came to adding after many years the penalty of banishment to that of deposition for the recalcitrant bishop. She states that even in exile he was obdurate, apparently practising some sort of hunger-strike. The account of the matter in the *σημείωμα* passed at the conference³ on the subject is very different. According to this report, the Emperor having called together a large number of senators (including members of the imperial family and officials of all sorts, civil and military) together with the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem and various bishops and abbots, as well as his brother the Sebastocrator, made a speech saying that 'being just prepared for a campaign' he had thought of leaving the matter 'to God's bishops', but decided it was too serious. Having been ardent from his mother's womb for the faith as handed down by the Fathers, he put all else 'second to the matter in hand'. Then exhorting the assembly to keep an un-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 111.² V. 2, p. 129.³ *P. G.* 127, cols. 972-84, Alexius' Novel 22 taken from a manuscript which once belonged to catechumens of a monastery on Mt. Athos.

biased mind he first calls for prayer and next summons Leo. After Leo has undertaken 'to make his defence with all candour and a pure soul', part of the Canon of the seventh Council is read, as upon 'the Sunday of Orthodoxy' (still a Greek feast, dating from 843). This enacts that honourable worship (*προσκύνησις*) must be paid to images 'but, according to our faith, not the true *λατρεία* which befits the divine nature only. . . . For the honour of the image passes to the prototype, and he who worships the image worships in it the person (*ὑπόστασις*) of the one depicted.' Questions follow, some put forward by Alexius to elicit the orthodox answers of the council, some apparently asked by members of it desiring information. An anathema is pronounced on those who worship images not *σχετικῶς* but *λατρευτικῶς*, and it is decided that 'the likeness of Christ seen in the material (*ὕλη*) must not be worshipped *λατρευτικῶς*', and that though 'holy images partake of divine grace', yet the 'likeness' does not share in 'the divine nature' which is *ἀπερίγραπτος*. At last Alexius sums up: 'Towards Christ Himself the worship is *λατρευτική* . . . but towards His images it is . . . *σχετική*, otherwise *ὁμωνυμική*' (in the words of St. Theodore of Studium), and Leo, overcome by this weight of learning, recants his errors and accepts the dicta of the Emperor and the Council. These two narratives are hard to reconcile. The only possible explanation is that the *σημείωμα* represents an early stage of the proceedings, i.e. part of the Emperor's 'exhortations' to Leo, while Anna carries the history on farther, and shows us the Bishop relapsing into his old error and meeting with deposition and exile in consequence.

In the opinion of some critics, as we have seen, Iconoclasm was primarily a political movement, inspired by jealousy of the monks.¹ There was also a strong feeling that all the wonder-working images² out of which the monks made so much capital

¹ See p. 295, above.

² N. Jorga in his paper before the Congress of Byzantinology at Bukharest (*Acad. Roum. Bull.*, Tome XI, p. 149), in speaking of the Iconoclasts states: 'Des empereurs dénués de toute passion calculaient bien en s'en prenant aux images sur bois, seuls objets de l'adoration, aux petits tableaux recouverts d'une armure d'argent constellée de pierres précieuses, tout en respectant sur les murs les fresques dont on n'a trouvée une seule grattée.' This directly contradicts Stephanus Diaconus (*P. G.* 100, cols. 1113 and 1120) who says that under Constantine V Copronymus churches were torn down *ὡς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας ἔχούσας*, and that the church of the B.V.M. in Blachernae, *τὸν πρὶν κεκοσμημένον τοῖς διατοίχοις ὄντα* . . . *διὰ εἰκονικῆς ἀναζωγραφήσεως* with scenes from the Life of Christ, was not only demolished but turned into an orchard and aviary; also Nicephorus the Patriarch (*P. G.* 100, col. 989) who relates how the same Emperor *τοῦ Σωτήρος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων οὐσας διὰ ψηφίδων χρυσῶν καὶ κηροχύτου ὕλης εἰκονογραφίας ἀπέξυσε*. The whole question is a difficult one; indeed, modern critics are not even agreed as to exactly what the icons were, whether statues, figures in low relief, or pictures

led to idolatry and were harmful to the Empire.¹ But on the purely theological side Baynes² has pointed out that Icono- (see above, p. 209, note 2). The words *εἰκών*, *εἰκόνημα*, *ἐκτύπωμα*, *χαράσσειν*, *γράφειν*, *σηλογραφεῖν*, *ξύειν*, *εἰκονογραφία*, and *ζωγραφικὴ ἐπιστήμη* are used by Byzantine writers with that 'Unart der unscharfen Bezeichnung' of which Dölger complains in another field. When Nicephorus the Patriarch (*P. G.* 100, cols. 356 sqq.) discusses the meaning of *γραφὴ* and ends by saying: *ὁ γράφων ἤγουν εἰκονίζων ἄνθρωπον*, he leaves us none the wiser. We are not even certain whether the 'holy icon of Christ fixed above the imperial doors' and called 'The Holy Bronze' *διὰ τὸν χαρακτήρα*, was a statue in the round or a low relief or a board (such as we find elsewhere called a *πίναξ*) painted and with metal inlaid; it was taken down and burnt, but this would have been equally possible for all three (Steph. Diac. in *P. G.* 100, col. 1085). This icon was replaced later, for Zonaras speaks of it as fixed up, with a *πέπλος* hanging before it (*Epit.* XVIII. 25). Baynes (*Byz. Emp.* p. 91) says: 'It may be questioned whether there is satisfactory evidence for any widespread use of statues in the churches of the Eastern Empire even before the Iconoclastic controversy', and Mr. Edwyn Bevan in conversation expressed the same doubt. Diehl, on the other hand (*Manuel de l'art byzantin*, p. 278), asserts: 'Il est certain . . . qu'au début la sculpture tenait une grande place dans les églises', though he admits that theologians always thought painting 'plus sainte' and suspected statuary as pagan: furthermore, Eastern influence tended to make sculpture a mere ornament, a sort of accessory of architecture. Certainly in the instances of religious sculpture which he enumerates there are no statues in the round, only bas-reliefs on stone, ivory, or metal. As far as worship of them (pp. 361 sqq.) is concerned, it could we feel have been quite as well directed to a painted or enamelled picture as to any form of carving. Two other recent writers on the subject are O. M. Dalton (*East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925) and L. Bréhier in his already quoted paper before the Bukharest Congress of Byzantinology (see p. 209, note 2, above). Dalton, in his third chapter, gives a learned disquisition on the change in the 'character of glyptic art' in the Mediterranean countries, largely due according to him to Oriental influence with its ignorance of perspective. He says (p. 162): 'The statue was eliminated by the action of aesthetic principles themselves: the process was aided by a popular antipathy to 'graven images' on the part of a large Oriental population, but was not initiated by it, still less by any ecclesiastical prohibition. The definite ban was not imposed by the Orthodox Church until 1453, probably through Mahomedan influence.' Again on p. 167 he states: 'When the cult of "images" was restored, such reliefs' [i.e. 'the crowded figure reliefs of the earlier centuries'] 'did not come back; they were as extinct as the statues; the work which they had done passed finally into the hands of the mosaicist and the painter', and on p. 179 he adds: 'Free sculpture . . . practically ceased with the sixth century, though there is allusion to a few official statues much later', notably at Constantinople, down to 'Comnenian times and even later'. Low reliefs in stone, wood, ivory, and metal were as often religious as secular, but in distinctive Christian art all forms of figure sculpture were from very early days in 'a subordinate position' to painting (p. 226), in which we may include mosaics. Bréhier, on the other hand, asserts that statues in Byzantine churches were 'tolérées jusqu'au XV^e siècle' though rare, and that a Russian pilgrim of the fourteenth century saw at Constantinople 'un Christ de grandeur naturelle qui est comme une statue et non comme une icône'. His two other quotations from the *Itinéraires russes* (Soc. de l'Orient latin) hardly prove his point, as the 'angels in stone' and the 'crucifix carved in wood' might just as well be low reliefs as free sculpture.

On the whole, wherever there is no explicit information to the contrary, it seems safer always to take the 'icons' of Byzantine writers, Anna Comnena and others, not as statues or even bas-reliefs, but as pictures painted on panels or enamelled in colours with raised outlines of metal. Probably the miraculous icon at St. Maria in Blachernae belonged to one of these two classes. See pp. 77 sqq., above.

¹ The victories of the Arabs were popularly ascribed by their enemies to their hatred of idolatry.

² *Byz. Emp.*, p. 90.

clastic hatred of images not only sought to deprive the faithful of the religious help of 'sacred pictures . . . the Bible of the uneducated', but also implied the idea that matter was evil, which is obviously a form of 'Manichaeism'. He puts the Iconodule argument thus: 'Christ by becoming flesh has sanctified, has deified, matter; to hold that Christ cannot duly be represented through the medium of matter is thus really to deny the Incarnation.' Manichaeism with its cognate heresies will be treated last of all as most important, but the suggestion of its connexion with Iconoclasm had to be noted here. It is indeed curious how interwoven the various 'false teachings' mentioned in the *Alexias* really are.

Before we close the matter of Images we must say a few words about it as it concerns the heretic Italus. Though he was, as we shall see, principally condemned for neo-Platonic ideas, he is accused by Anna of 'insults to the august images of the Saints',¹ a charge which seems to have been brought against him in his trial (of which an account has come down to us), since he denies having struck an image of Our Lord with a stone or incited others so to do. But on the other hand he displayed towards images an undue and excessive reverence, in that like Leo before him he professed to λατρεύειν the image of Christ, whereas the Catholic doctrine as we have said is that λατρεία belongs to deity only; as true believers we κατασπαζόμεθα σχετικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.² The *Synodikon* for the first Sunday in Lent, which attacks a number of heresies prevalent under Manuel I, praises those who worship images (for the εἰκονομάχος αἵρεσις is μᾶλλον χριστομάχος) but only those who do so κατὰ σχέσιν.³ The whole controversy is summarized by Euthymius Zigabenus,⁴ with whose words, culled by him from various authorities, we may conclude: 'Worship towards Christ Himself is λατρευτικὴ καὶ φυσικὴ . . . that towards the image of Christ is σχετικὴ καὶ ὁμωνυμική. For I worship the Christ in it, which is σχετικὴ προσκύνησις καὶ ὑποστατική.'

¹ V. 9, p. 149.

² 'Trial of Italus' (*Bull. inst. arch. russe de Constantinople*, Vol. II, pp. 54, 55). It is interesting to note that his master Iamblichus taught the innate power of images, while Porphyry, at any rate in his later works, did not (J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, p. 21 and elsewhere).

³ *Synodikon* for the First Sunday in Lent, pp. 415, 419.

⁴ *Panoplia* (P. G. 130, col. 1168).

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

49. NEO-PLATONISTS

THE story of Italus,¹ like that of Bishop Leo, is an instance of a man's being accused of one thing when his real offence lay in another, and furthermore of apparent discrepancy between the *Alexias* and our other authorities. Italus was primarily not a heretical theologian but a philosopher,² and the charges brought against him in the 'Report of his Trial' above quoted do not correspond at all closely to what Anna alleges. As far as Anna personally is concerned, her disapproval of the heretic is only a cover for her dislike of the man, 'barbarian' in origin, speech, and temper. Her description of his violence both with tongue and hands while browbeating his opponents rather lacks verisimilitude if we reflect that he was appointed to one of the most dignified of court offices, that of Chief of the Philosophers, just vacated by the great Psellus. Italus' career in the Byzantine diplomatic service was cut short 'because he was detected betraying the interests' of the Empire, but tolerance for such a lapse is less surprising than the condoning by the sovereign of sins against the stateliness of philosophy. If he is the 'Lombard' to whom Psellus writes a letter as to the difficulties of learning,³ his temperament would seem to have needed inciting to activity (such as war) rather than the reverse. But as Anna represents him he is a violent and unrestrained man, first an insubordinate pupil to her much-admired Psellus, and then a lecturer who, though his ostensible subjects were Aristotle and Plato and the neo-Platonists, yet radiated such a pernicious influence that he turned his followers into rebels. Perhaps political unsoundness lay at the root of the errors which the 'apostolic' Alexius felt bound to expose, even with Norman foes still holding part of his land.⁴ The task is first entrusted to

¹ V. 9.

² Ouspensky discusses the similarity between his teaching and that of Abelard (*Journal du ministère de l'instruction publique*, September 1891).

³ In Psellus, *De operatione daemonum*, etc., p. 164.

⁴ This raises a point as to Anna's accuracy. The 'Trial of Italus' (*loc. cit.* p. 30) gives the date as Indiction V, i.e. between September 1, 1081 and August 31, 1082. But Anna (V. 8, p. 143) says her father deferred the expedition against the Normans in Castoria in order to deal with the heretic, and Castoria, which was

Isaac the Sebastocrator, but he hands Italus over 'to the Church by command of his brother the Emperor', with the disastrous result that the Patriarch Eustratius Garidas is led astray. For some reason, though Italus had a great following among the nobility and especially its younger members,¹ his teaching aroused such fury among the populace that they wished to kill him and were only restrained by the Emperor. In Anna's account of the matter, these 'destructive' doctrines are 'summarized under eleven headings', and to prevent their spreading their infection further Alexius ordered Italus to denounce these headings from the ambon in St. Sophia, with head uncovered, while the crowd listened and supplied the refrain of cursing.

So far it is only his doctrines that have been anathematized and not himself, but the graver step is found necessary by the Emperor owing to the criminal's impenitence and relapse, in spite of personal exhortations from his sovereign. How long this anathema on the man himself lasted we do not know, but it seems to have been removed² privately and not publicly, doubtless from fear of another popular rising against the hated man. The people, clearly, no less than Alexius, thought his dogmas *φθοροποιά*.³

What then did he teach? Anna's charges against him are two: he and his followers believe in metempsychosis and the Platonic doctrine of Ideas (together with 'similar strange doctrines resembling these' but not specified), and they show disrespect to Images. With the latter charge we have dealt already. But intensified study of Platonic and neo-Platonic ideas was part of the revival of learning initiated by the great Psellus,⁴ who held Aristotle in very low esteem in comparison,

recaptured by Alexius shortly before December 1, 1083, the date of Anna's own birth, was apparently not handed over by Bohemund for safe-keeping to the Celt Bryennius till the spring or summer of 1083 (see Chalandon, *op. cit.* pp. 88-91). We may well say that it is a small matter, referring to events long before Anna's own day, and that an inaccuracy may therefore be pardoned. But another explanation is suggested later; see p. 323.

¹ V. 9, p. 147 ('the youth swarmed round him'). V. 9, p. 149 ('Not a few nobles were ruined by these destructive doctrines').

² This is taking *ὑπάγεται* in V. 9, p. 149 c, as 'is withdrawn from' (the ecclesiastical anathema) and not 'is subjected to', as in the *C. S. H. B.* translation. The verb may bear either meaning, but in view of the context the former seems more likely; the fate of the doctrines is contrasted (by *μὲν* and *δέ*) with the fate of the man.

³ In the 'Trial of Italus' we read that 'the popular rush filled with zeal against the man' was so great that an 'inarticulate roar and shout rose from the concourse of those that ran together'.

⁴ Rambaud (*Rev. Hist.* III, p. 264) calls Psellus 'presque un homme de la Renaissance' in this respect.

and he describes the stages¹ of his own intellectual advance as marked by Aristotle, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, finally 'stopping at the most wonderful Proclus as in a very great harbour'. Of these six authors Anna tells us that Italus studied five, Plotinus (the master of Porphyry and Iamblichus, and indirectly of Proclus) being rather surprisingly omitted from her pages altogether. Porphyry comes in again in connexion with the Manichaeans.

Now in the 'Trial of Italus'² we find that philosopher accused of six heresies which correspond exactly neither with Anna's account nor with the eleven counts specified in the *Synodikon* already mentioned. The heresies in the first document may be summarized as follows:

1. Italus deprived the Son of divine *ἀξία*, apparently by misuse of the words *ἐπιστροφή* and *γένεσεν* (the passage is very obscure). He followed the errors of Proclus and Iamblichus.

2. Like the Sabellians he said there was only One Person of the Trinity.

3. Like the Arians he made the Son inferior to the Father.

4. He said Christ was born a mere man and was afterwards deified, instead of being God made man; like the Apollinarians he called him a 'God-bearing man' instead of a 'flesh-bearing God'.

5. He believed *in*, and not only *truths about*, the B.V.M. (We have dealt with this in speaking of the Theotokos.)

6. He held that Images were to be worshipped *λατρευτικῶς* instead of *σχετικῶς*. (We have dealt with this under 'Images'.)

These six heresies were abjured by Italus, but for safety's sake the Council decided that any one associating with him or his disciples was liable to instant banishment. He afterwards pleaded guilty to false doctrine under nine *κεφάλαια τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀθεότητος γέμοντα*, and was ready to abjure it, but denied that he had struck an image of Christ with a stone. Italus was deprived of his professorial chair and sent to a monastery 'to receive the suitable correction', but his disciples came off lightly and were all acquitted, a circumstance which Chalandon construes as proving that 'le clergé était hostile à ces poursuites où se trouvaient compromis plusieurs de ses membres'.³

¹ *Chron.*, Const. IX, Byz. T., p. 108. These six names are also brought in by him in his *Summary of the Chaldaean doctrines* (P. G. 122, col. 1153) as having all believed, in a greater or less degree, that the Chaldaean oracles were 'divine voices'.

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 30-66. The document is headed *τὰ πραχθέντα βασιλικῇ καὶ συνοδικῇ διαγνώσει ἐν τε τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Ἰωάννου*; cf. p. 318, note 2.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 313.

Up to this point we have found little that would make a casual reader identify the Italus of *Alexias* V with the Italus of the 'Trial'. Anna never mentions any of his six heresies, though about many of them she felt strongly. The errors of Proclus and Iamblichus and the nine headings 'replete with Hellenic impiety' not further specified may indeed resolve themselves into 'metempsychosis and the Platonic theory of Ideas', and the striking an image with a stone could certainly be called *ὑβρίζειν*, even if to worship such objects *λατρευτικῶς* instead of *σχετικῶς* could not. But is it not possible to conceive of two trials of Italus, of which the Report mentions the first and Anna and the *Synodikon* the second?¹ For the 'eleven headings' of the *Alexias* may well be the eleven counts of the *Synodikon*, though the first count refers to false teaching about the Incarnation with which Anna reproaches a later heretic Nilus and not the neo-Platonic Italus. The counts are summarized by Chalandon and Oeconomos, and the briefest possible abstract must here be given. Anathemas are pronounced upon:

I. New-fangled views on the Incarnation and Christ's two natures and as to how the Logos united Himself with human nature and deified the flesh which He assumed. (This bears a relation to heresy no. 4 in the 'Trial'.)

II. 'The impious doctrines of the Greeks' about souls.

III. The 'folly' of alternative beliefs in metempsychosis or annihilation of souls.

IV. The claim that Ideas are co-eternal with God.

V. Any slight put on the seven General Councils² and the Fathers.

VI. Disbelief in miracles.

VII. The following of Greek philosophers instead of merely reading them as a part of education. (An interesting light is hereby thrown on the contemporary attitude of Theology towards classical learning.)

VIII. Platonic theories, especially on the existence of Matter coevally with and independently of God, and its taking form from Ideas.³

IX. Unorthodox views about the resurrection of the body.

X. Belief in the pre-existence of souls, and in Universalism,

¹ As a matter of fact the trial described in the Report was not even the first: we read in its own pages that Italus had already given trouble under Michael VII and been condemned by a Synod.

² We may note that metempsychosis was condemned by the Seventh Council, Nicaea II, in 787.

³ This is stigmatized by Zigabenus in his *Panoplia* (P. G. 130, col. 145), quoting from St. Maximus.

i.e. the doctrine that no punishment will be eternal. XI gives a *résumé* of the other ten, and is the first to contain the name of Italus. An anathema is attached.

Of these ten counts, nos. II, III, IV, VII, VIII, and X have definite reference to Anna's charges of belief in metempsychosis and the theory of Ideas; nos. I and VI are wholly irrelevant, but nos. V and IX have a slight connexion with false doctrine about the soul. The matter of Images is dealt with in the same *Synodikon*, not in the eleven anathemas but in the preceding blessings.

What then may we conclude from the fact that the *Synodikon* and the *Alexias* agree fairly well, while the Report of the 'Trial' is quite distinct? Probably, as in the case of Bishop Leo, that Anna (who here has the support of the *Synodikon*) carries the story further than does the other account. The proceedings of the Synod against both heretics seemed at the time to end in a triumph for orthodoxy, involving no severe punishment to the offender, and the Report was drawn up in that spirit. But both Anna and the compiler of the *Synodikon*, writing under Manuel I, had reason to know that the triumphs were short-lived and the punishments only deferred. This hypothesis of two trials of Italus saves us furthermore from impugning Anna's chronological accuracy in the matter.¹ The trial described in the Report was, as its preamble states, in Indiction V; that described by her may well have been a year or more later, while Alexius was 'planning against Bryennius', the Norman commander of Castoria. In this way we explain the discrepancies between the six heresies and the 'eleven headings', between the tame ending of the Report and the dramatic scenes of the *Alexias*, and above all between the two dates given. If we argue that Anna would certainly have mentioned a previous trial of Italus, we may reply, first, that as she omitted his condemnation by a Synod under Michael VII she may equally well have omitted his second conflict with the authorities, and secondly, that we know beyond reasonable doubt of her making such an omission in the case of Bishop Leo.² Why not then in the case of Italus too?

The after-effects of the teaching of Italus were even more serious than Anna leads us to infer. The going astray at this juncture of one man, the Patriarch Eustratius Garidas³

¹ See p. 319, note 4, above.

² See above, p. 316.

³ In the 'Report of the Trial' he is merely spoken of as a lover of quiet and the contemplative life, a man full of *ἀρετή*, and his orthodoxy is never questioned—another small proof that this trial was not identical with that described in the *Alexias*.

is mentioned both by her and by the *Synodikon*,¹ but from later sources we learn that in Manuel's time a recrudescence of neo-Platonic doctrines affected others of the higher clergy.² Nicetas even says that an unorthodox proposition, due to long-ago memories of his master Italus, was uttered by that Bishop Eustratius of Nicaea who helped Alexius against the Paulicians and whom Anna describes as 'a man wise in things divine and secular, more renowned in dialectics than those who frequented the Porch and the Academy'.³ Whether this story is true or not, the heresy of John Italus was a *λύμη* indeed.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

50. MONOPHYSITES

IF Anna omits to give us Italus' unsound notions on the Incarnation she makes up for it when she comes to the next heretic Nilus, who with his Armenian followers takes up the whole of chapter 1 of her Tenth Book. We know from the one mention of him in the *Synodikon* that he was a monk: 'On the doctrines impiously taught by the monk Nilus, and on all who share therein, anathema.' Anna puts the same fact thus: 'He was a man clever in making a show of virtue,⁴ coming from I know not where, but for some time at any rate he frequented the capital and living in a corner⁵ devoted himself to God only forsooth and to himself, continually absorbed in the sacred books.' She then goes on to describe in language very like what she used about Italus the deficiencies of Nilus in 'any Hellenic education' and any *παιδεία λογική*, a circumstance which once more she ascribes to lack of instruction in 'the depth of the divine literature', and which had caused him to 'go astray about the sense of the writings'. Yet he had followers, 'a not ignoble band', and carried his teaching into 'great houses'. He was credited with *ἀρετή* and an austere life, and also in spite of his defective training with *γνώσις*, here probably in the simple

¹ V. 9, p. 148; *Synod.*, p. 427 (in the Russian heading).

² Oeconomus, *op. cit.* pp. 30 sqq., and Chalandon, *Jean II et Manuel I Comnène*, pp. 640 sqq.

³ XIV. 8, p. 453; Nic. Acom., *Thes. Orth. Fid.*, P. G. 140, col. 136.

⁴ The same phrase, *ἀρετὴν ὑποκρίνεσθαι*, is used of the Patriarch Eustratius Garidas (III. 3, p. 75).

⁵ Probably a monastery. See pp. 49 and 291, note 3, above.

sense of 'knowledge', not with the special theological meaning of esoteric acquirements.¹ Then follows the indictment of his twofold error as to the Incarnation. He misapprehended the hypostatic union of Our Lord's divine and human natures, and he was wrong about how the second of these was deified. With this matter was connected the doctrine known as *ἀντίδοσις* or *communicatio idiomatum*.

To ordinary laymen nowadays the whole discussion is so remote and academic that we too must beware lest, like Nilus, we do 'not even grasp what *ἐνωσις* is, nor what *ὑπόστασις* is at all', and like him fail to 'understand hypostasis or henosis separately, or again in combination, hypostatic henosis'. There probably floats through our minds a recollection of Browning's bitterly satirical lines:²

There's a great text in Galatians,
Once you trip on it, entails
Twenty-nine distinct damnations,
One sure, if another fails.

Yet if we are to gauge Anna's intellectual standards and achievements, we must try to get at her point of view, try to understand what seemed to her of such vital importance. To begin with, we must examine her usage of the technical terms about what she calls *τὸ μυστήριον*, meaning especially the mystery of the Incarnation. This term occurs in the Definition of the Faith by the Council of Chalcedon (451), as do also *ὑπόστασις* and *ἐνωσις* which first call for explanation.

(1) *ὑπόστασις* has a place in the theological teaching on the Trinity as well as in that on the Incarnation, but Chalandon³ is clearly wrong in thinking that Anna is here at all concerned with the former doctrine; Nilus' errors were, as Oster puts it, 'Fehler in Christologie'. Murray's Dictionary thus explains the word Hypostasis: 'Personality, personal existence, person: (a) distinguished from *nature*, as in the one hypostasis of Christ as distinguished from His two *natures* (human and divine)', &c.⁴ It further defines hypostatic union (*ἐνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) as 'union of the human nature of our Lord with the divine, constituting two natures in one person'. Canon Ottley⁵ points out that the term Hypostasis was introduced into theology by

¹ We have spoken elsewhere of the contrast which Anna loves to draw between virtue and learning. See above, p. 137.

² *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister*.

³ *Alexis Ier*, p. 317.

⁴ Zigabenus in his *Panoplia* uses the word throughout as synonymous with *πρόσωπον*. This was in accordance with the decision of the Second General Council of 381 (Constantinople I).

⁵ *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, pp. 410 sqq., 576-9, 587-92, 599, etc.

Gnostic writers, and that whereas it was heresy to ascribe to Christ two natures and two hypostases, or one nature and one hypostasis, the Councils laid down the doctrine of two natures, one hypostasis.

(2) *ένωσις*, by which this is reached, is 'union', and must be carefully distinguished from the 'conjunction' (*συνάφεια*) taught by Nestorius, or the 'commingling' (*κρᾶσις*) of Eutyches. (Our own Athanasian Creed is directed against these two heresies among others.) The term Hypostatic Union denotes first that the union is real, not simulated;¹ secondly that it results in a single Person.

Other difficult points are as follows:

(3) *ἀντίδοσις* or *communicatio idiomatum* is defined by Ottley² as 'the interpenetration of the two natures of Christ, pervasion of the human by the divine, participation of attributes'. This matter of doctrine is discussed in the works of the St. Maximus³ whom the Empress Irene specially loved to study;⁴ it is therefore natural that her daughter should mention it.

(4) All this was connected with the insistence already mentioned on the dogma that Christ was not merely *θεοφόρος* (as any inspired man might be said to be) but *θεάνθρωπος λόγος*, the two natures being vitally united.

(5) *τὸ πρόσλημμα*,⁵ or the human flesh which the Word assumed, was said to be 'deified', having been originally of the substance (*οὐσία*) of His mother Mary.⁶ It was the part of Him that suffered.⁷ One of the heresies attacked in the *Synodikon*

¹ This sense of basis or reality was the original meaning of the word Hypostasis. It was developed by neo-Platonist and Christian usage into the secondary meaning given above. See the learned disquisition in Zigabenus, *Panoplia* (P. G. 130, col. 121) on the terms *ἐνυπόστατος*, *αὐθυπόστατος*, *ἐτεροῦπόστατος*, and *ἀνυπόστατος*, and cf. Nic. Acom., *Thes. Orth. Fid.*, Bk. III, especially ch. 4, in P. G. 139.

² *Op. cit.* p. 591.

³ Quoted by Zigabenus, *Panoplia* (P. G. 130, col. 253). So also in the same work (col. 1049) we have a long passage on the subject from St. John Damascene's refutation of the Monophysites.

⁴ V. 9, p. 147.

⁵ The term occurs in Greg. Naz., *Oratio XL in sanctum baptismum* (PG. 36, col. 424), and *Carminum*, Liber II, Historica, Poem XI, lines 647-51 (P. G. 37, cols. 1073-4). In the second passage he condemns all those

*εἰ μὴ σέβοιεν ὡς ἐν ἄνθρωπον Θεὸν
τὸν προσλαβόντα σὺν γε τῷ προσλήμματι*

δύο φύσεις εἰς Χριστὸν ἐλθούσας ἓνα.

So Callicles (Poem XVI. 53) makes John Comnenus say of Christ, in addressing the Theotokos:

ἐκ σοῦ λαβὼν πρόσλημμα συνδεῖ τὰς φύσεις.

⁶ Zigabenus, *Expositio Symboli* (P. G. 131, col. 16).

⁷ Athanasius in Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, Tit. IX, col. 309; Greg. Naz., *Oratio XL*; and against Apollinarians in Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 884.

brings in yet another aspect of the doctrine; it was wrong to say that the assumed flesh differs from the divine nature 'not in nature only but also in honour' (τῇ ἀξίᾳ), and that it serves God (λατρεῖν Θεῷ) like a great high priest.¹ It was a matter where the 'twenty-nine distinct damnations' lurked very near.

(6) τὸ θεοῦσθαι, deification, was a term freely used in early theology referring to what happened as to both Christ's human nature and our human nature in Him. The first application is what concerns us here. The Definition of Faith of the Sixth General Council (Constantinople III, 680-1) says: 'His most holy and immaculate animated flesh was not destroyed because it was deified, but continued in its own state and nature.' Origen had said² that Christ after His Resurrection deified the nature which He had taken, but the more orthodox view is expressed by Gregory of Nyssa: 'The flesh which He has assumed and at the same time deified.'³ The deification occurred at the Incarnation of the Logos: 'Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two but One Christ; One not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh but by taking of the Manhood into God.'⁴ He still wears, and will come again wearing, τὸ πρόσλημμα.⁵ He became 'one out of two opposites, flesh and spirit, of which the one deified and the other was deified',⁶ and 'τὸ πρόσλημμα by the hypostatic union . . . was deified . . . from the actual union' (ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνώσεως).

This process of union however 'for ever remains a mystery',⁸ and those who speak of it must do so warily. It is a heresy to say that the assumed flesh is deified φύσει; it is orthodox to say that union of the two natures is φυσική or κατὰ φύσιν.⁹ Deification of τὸ πρόσλημμα was not such as to absorb it; the human nature remained 'with the grace from above' added.¹⁰ 'God became flesh, in order that flesh might become God, οὐ τῇ φύσει ἀλλὰ τῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσει καὶ τῇ θεώσει.¹¹ This subtle

¹ *Syn.*, p. 427.

² *Comm. on St. Matt.* ch. 28 (P. G. 17, Pt. II, col. 309).

³ *Great Catechism*, XXXV (P. G. 45, col. 88).

⁴ *Athanasian Creed*, simple and clear as compared to the theology of the *Panoplia*.

⁵ Greg. Naz. against Apollinarians in Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 885.

⁶ *Panopl.*, col. 212.

⁷ *Ibid.* cols. 248 and 257.

⁸ The first count against Italus in the *Synodikon* is, as we have seen, an attack on those who try to explain 'the ineffable doctrine of the Incarnation'.

⁹ Ottley (*op. cit.* p. 411) says that Cyril used ἐνωσις φυσική as equivalent to ἐνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

¹⁰ Ottley (*op. cit.* pp. 591-2) deals with this, and speaks of 'the truth so often insisted on by Athanasius and others that the Divine Son really appropriates human nature and makes it His own, and imparts to it by the virtue of His person a "grace of unction" and a "grace of union"'.¹¹

¹¹ Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 1076: where he further quotes Greg. Naz. as saying 'concerning the deified flesh of the Lord', that it became οὐ . . . θεότης . . . ἀλλὰ θεός, οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ θεώσει.

distinction is elaborated in the interesting (and for a theological document singularly lucid) 'Discourse of the great lord and Emperor Alexius Comnenus made by him against Armenians who wrongfully teach that there is one nature in Christ'.¹ The name of Nilus does not occur in this writing, but Anna tells us that a number of Armenians in Constantinople, notably two called Tigranes and Arsaces, were 'incited to impiety' by this man, and 'the Emperor saw that impiety was feeding on the souls of many and that the affairs of Nilus and of the Armenians were closely interwoven',² so that he and they were finally tried together. It is therefore relevant to see what Armenian heresy Alexius combats in this 'Discourse'. We find at once that it was a form of Eutychianism or Monophysitism, and the familiar phrase 'Perfect God and Perfect Man' soon enters our mind; God 'deified the assumed flesh ἁμα τῇ ἐνώσει'. Unless we admit that 'the human part of the Lord was not changed in essence (κατ' οὐσίαν)³ but was deified by the hypostatic union' we must be-

¹ Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Anal. Hierosol. Stach.*, I, p. 116-23.

² Anna dislikes Armenians as a race. As heretics we meet them again in XIV. 8, pp. 450 and 452, at Philippopolis, mixed up with the Manichaeans, &c., but their 'salt stream' of doctrine is after this one contemptuous reference not further specified. The animus of her contemporaries against Armenian heresies varied in strength. Alexius favoured Mt. Athos with its 180 monasteries, where Armenian and Georgian monks as well as Latins all lived close to Greeks. On the Roman side, when Bohemund and the other crusading chiefs wrote to Urban II (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, Ep. 16) begging him to come to Antioch and extirpate the heresies of the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Jacobites, they were probably actuated by political rather than religious animosity (Leib, *op. cit.* pp. 221 sqq.). One Armenian Patriarch at any rate managed to keep on good terms with both Rome and Byzantium; this was Gregory II, son of an Armenian prince, who received a pallium from Pope Gregory VII, and before he took holy orders was made a duke by Alexius. Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, cols. 1173 sqq., attacks Armenians for saying that Christ's body was a phantom and not really human, and as such incorruptible and impassible. They did not reverence the Cross aright, and their faith, rites, and sacraments were all *θεοσυγής*. Attaliates (p. 97) ascribes Byzantine reverses to divine 'anger against the Armenians who inhabit Iberia and Mesopotamia and as far as Lycandos and Melitene and the neighbourhood, and the men who observe the Jewish heresy of Nestorius, and that of the Acephali' (i.e. those who did not recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as their head); it is not clear whether he is alluding to one brand of heresy or several. Theophylact has several passages dealing with the conversion of Armenians (*P.G.* 123, col. 1160; *P.G.* 124, col. 284; *P.G.* 126, cols. 345-9, 353-6, 520). It is interesting to find from him that their churches needed reconsecration before the Orthodox could use them. They preached 'the madness' of the one nature of Christ.

Nicetas Acominatus (*P.G.* 140) devotes Bk. XVII of his *Theor. Orth. Fid.* to Armenian errors, but Migne has only edited part of it; the note refers to the 'variae haereses' of which Armenians are accused, but the text is omitted.

On the whole it is probably true, as Laurent (*Byzance et les Seldjoudes*, p. 71, note 5) states, that mutual hatred and an inquisitorial spirit were very common in the Greek and Armenian churches.

³ In the *Synodikon*, p. 431, a curse is laid on 'those who believe that the deification of the assumed flesh means the transformation of the human nature into

lieve either that the two natures of Christ became one, or that after the deification of the assumed flesh there were two Gods.¹ The metaphor of iron, which though heated does not cease to be iron, is applied to the two natures: 'If then thou admittest that this' [Christ's flesh] 'was made divine in nature (φύσει θεωθῆναι), and lost its own (οἰκέλαν) nature, then admit that heated iron has lost its own nature.'² And this is a vitally important point, for if the assumed flesh was 'in essence God', it was not of like nature with us, and the mystery of the Incarnation³ is of no avail for us. The right view is to accept 'one Person (ὑπόστασιν) composed out of Godhead and Manhood'; the human and the divine natures were united in Christ as one indivisible Person, but were not merged.

Into this field of controversy abounding in pitfalls Nilus boldly stepped. He did not understand the hypostatic union itself nor the terms that defined it; his views as to the communication of attributes and the deification of the assumed flesh were unorthodox and he refused to change them even at the bidding of his pious and persuasive Emperor. So, to deal with him as before with Italus, 'the leaders of the Church' had to be called in council by Alexius; once more we have the Patriarch (now Nicolas Grammaticus) with 'the whole body of bishops' sitting in judgement. As was inevitable, the Emperor won, and 'the Synod, in order to free the souls of many from his corrupt teaching, laid [Nilus] under a perpetual curse and proclaimed yet more plainly according to the tradition of the Fathers the doctrine of the hypostatic union'.

This is the last of Nilus in Anna's pages. But 'after him, or rather with him'⁴ another heretic is brought forward 'holding impious tenets foreign to the Church, although he was in holy orders'. This is Blachernites, who shared in the 'taint' (λύμη) of the Enthusiasts, and like Nilus had undermined 'great houses'. Anna gives us no details as to his errors, but Zigabenus⁵ identifies the Enthusiasts with the Massalians, the sect which was so to speak one of the two parents⁶ of the Bogomile heresy, Manichaeism being the other. This will be considered later. We

Godhead, and that the body of the Lord . . . is transformed into the substance (οὐσία) of Godhead, so as to infer from this either that the Incarnation of the Lord and His sufferings occurred as a phantom and not a reality, or that the Godhead of the Only Begotten suffered'.

¹ 'Two natures and two persons' constituted the Nestorian heresy.

² Pp. 117-18. The same metaphor and the same *reductio ad absurdum* occur in Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 1076, and in Theophylact, Ser. I, Ep. 20 (*P. G.* 126, cols. 353-6).

³ The word used is *οἰκονομία*; see above, p. 307.

⁴ X. I, p. 270.

⁵ *Panoplia*, col. 1273.

⁶ XV. 8, p. 486.

need only say now that Blachernites, the solitary Enthusiast or Massalian depicted by Anna, was as impervious as Nilus and Basil the Bogomile to the instructions of Alexius. He was consequently 'handed over to the Church, and they too, after examining him further, recognized that he was unshakable, so they subjected him and his doctrines to a perpetual curse'.

The Armenians, as we have seen, reappear as helping to pervert Philippopolis, and with them the Jacobites, whose doctrine is described as a river 'from the most foul fountains of Jacob'.¹ Such is Anna's only allusion to the famous sixth-century monk Jacobus Baradaeus who fought so manfully for the Monophysite teaching against Emperor, Council, and clergy, that the Church of his foundation still exists in the East and still bears his name. Leib² seems to regard the Jacobite movement as due to the desire of 'le parti national syrien' to make itself independent at Antioch of the 'parti melkite', subordinated to Constantinople by the Council of Chalcedon; if this is so, Anna as a loyal daughter not only of the Church but of the Palace had a double reason for hating these 'foul fountains'.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

51. MOSLEMS

AFTER studying Anna's meticulous learning in the case of heresies with which she was familiar it is interesting to turn to her strangely wild statements about the Mohammedan religion.³ In the first place she represents the Turks, whom she

¹ XIV. 8, p. 452. See above, p. 328, note 2, on the Jacobites at Antioch. The name 'Jacobite' given to the sect by its enemies is first found in a synodal decree of Nicaea in 787. We append an extract from the discourse entitled *περὶ αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἰακωβιτῶν* of Philip the Solitary (P. G. 127, col. 885). He says that the monk Jacobus 'accepted the doctrine of Eutyches', who taught (a) that after the Incarnation Christ's two natures were mixed (*κραθῆναι*) into one', and (b) that God was passible (hence the name Theopaschitae). We cannot sum up the whole subject better than in his dictum (ch. x): 'He who denies the hypostatic union in Christ on account of the difference of natures is a Nestorian; he who denies the difference of natures in the hypostatic union is a Eutychian; he who proclaims the hypostatic union and the difference of natures in the unity of the Holy Trinity proclaims the imperial and blameless faith.'

² *Op. cit.* p. 183, note 3.

³ Yet we learn from Villehardouin and others that there had always been a mosque at Constantinople for visitors and prisoners, so ignorance was inexcusable. Cf. in the contemporary *Chanson de Roland* (1115-20) the current idea of the Mohammedans as worshippers of a Trinity: 1. Mahumet, 2. Apolin, 3. Tervagan, see *Ch. de R.* (MS. Oxford) stanza CLXXXVII, ll. 2570-91.

calls indifferently Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Ishmaelites, and Hagarenes, as very ready to be bribed into a change of religion,¹ and the conversion of 'those who perform mysteries (ὀργιάζουσιν) by the rites of Mahomet' is a task zealously undertaken by the 'most hieratic, most didactic and apostolic' Emperor.² These same Moslems are ἀθεώτατοι and intercourse with them defiles true believers,³ for Anna's ideas of their tenets are lurid indeed. Her words on the subject are worth quoting in full.⁴ 'The Ishmaelite barbarians [are] slaves to drink and wine and Dionysus. For this race yields to Dionysus and Eros, and is most passionate in every sort of sensuality, and their passions are not circumcized together with their flesh. They are nothing else but slaves and triple slaves of the ills of Aphrodite. Wherefore also they worship and honour Astarte and Astaroth, and set great store by the image of the Star,⁵ and the golden Chobar that is found among them.' In these strange gleanings from Phoenician mythology Anna does not seem to realize that Astarte and Astaroth are one and the same deity whom later writers⁶ identified with one still more famous, the goddess described by Zigabenus⁷ as 'Aphrodite whom in their own tongue [the Saracens] call Chabar' (written 'Chobar' by our authoress), meaning 'The Great'. But in any case the whole passage is an absurd travesty of Mohammedanism, which in its essence as held by Mahomet himself was 'emphatically a form of Judaistic Christianity', and the worst that could be said of it was that it was 'influenced by the traditions of the Parsees and of the heathen Arabs'.⁸ As to its ethics, Anna ignores the Prophet's rule of total abstinence and often speaks as if drunkenness were peculiarly the vice of Moslems, who were fitly symbolized by vines.⁹ Their reputation in her mind for bravery and skill on the one hand and deceitfulness, arrogance, and

¹ So the *Σταυρός* or envoy sent by the Sultan to Alexius (VI. 9, p. 170) is baptized and the 'archsatrap' Elchanes, apparently with his 'blood-relations' (VI. 13, p. 181). Perversion to Mahommedanism, on the other hand, is a 'mad enterprise' (VI. 9, p. 169). Foucher de Chartres (I. 16, 5) narrates the baptism of part of the Turkish garrison of Antioch.

² VI. 13, p. 181. See also Const. Porphy., *de Cerim.* II. 49 (*C.S.H.B.* Vol. I, p. 694).

³ III. 11, p. 95; V. 2, p. 128.

⁴ X. 5, p. 284.

⁵ From Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, col. 1333, we infer that Anna means Lucifer, called there τὸ ἑωσφόρον ἄστρον.

⁶ See *The Syrian Goddess* (trans. from Lucian by H. A. Strong), note 7, p. 44.

⁷ Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, loc. cit.

⁸ L. Pullan, *Church of the Fathers*, p. 12. We may note here that Anna never once attacks the Jewish tenets which were such a bugbear to many medieval theologians.

⁹ VI. 12, p. 179; IX. 3, p. 251; X. 5, p. 284; XV. 1, p. 461. So Cedrenus, pp. 727 C, 744 A, B, describes both Maniacs and Catacalo as having easy victories over the 'Saracens' because the latter had been drinking all night and were ὑπὸ μέθης σφαλλόμενοι or οἰνωμένοι.

cruelty on the other belongs rather to 'Foreign Affairs'. Here we are dealing only with their theology, and we may note that Anna's misstatements meet us again in the *Panoplia* of Zigabenus. He says, in the passage just quoted: 'The Saracens up to the times of the Emperor Heraclius served idols, worshipping the Dawn-bringing star (Lucifer) and Aphrodite, whom in their own tongue they call Chabar, and this word means the Great.¹ But then a false prophet Mahomet rose among them, great and notorious for his blasphemies.' Hereupon follows an account of Mahommedan teaching and ritual, as contrasted with Christianity. But as Anna does not go into such details we need only say here that Zigabenus displays little accurate knowledge as to those he is attacking.² When Manuel Comnenus shortly before his death displeased the clergy of his day by wishing to remove the anathema³ from the 'complete' (ὁλόσφυρος) God of the Mohammedans, he was showing not only tolerance but more intelligence about the subject than the professional theologians,⁴ who as Chalandon says were 'd'une ignorance rare quant à la religion des Musulmans',⁵ an ignorance which Anna fully shared.

¹ The river Chabar in Ezek. i. 3 is *Χοβάρ* in the LXX, and clearly comes from the Hebrew כְּבֹר 'to be great'.

² Zigabenus has an argument (of course finally triumphant) with a Saracen in the *Disputatio de Fide* printed in *P. G.* 131, col. 20.

³ According to the formula of abjuration which every convert from Islam had to pronounce, and which was engraved on a marble tablet in St. Sophia. A Vatican manuscript contains this formula (together with others for Jews, &c.) under the name of Nicetas Acominatus (*P. G.* 140, cols. 124-36).

⁴ Nic. Acom. *Manuel C.*, VII. 6 and 7, and Nic. Acom. *Thes. Orth. Fid.*, Bk. XX (*P. G.* 140). In the formula of abjuration (see last note) we find the following passages relevant to our text:

(a) ἀναθεματίζω Μωάμεδ and his family, and the Koran and its teaching about Paradise, the Old Testament, and Christianity.

(b) ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τῷ πρῶτῳ προσκυνούντας ἄστρῳ ἡγουν τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἣν κατὰ τὴν Ἀράβων γλῶσσαν Χαβάρ ὀνομάζουσι, τουτέστι μεγάλην.

(c) καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀναθεματίζω τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ Μωάμεδ, περὶ οὗ λέγει, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶ Θεὸς εἰς ὁλόσφυρος [ὅς] οὐκ ἐγέννησεν οὐδὲ ἐγεννήθη.

(We are reminded of the inscriptions about the God Who was not begotten neither begat which are still to be seen round the Palace at Seville, put up by Moorish workmen unknown to their so-called Christian master Pedro the Cruel.) After this the convert expressed his faith in Christianity and asked for baptism.

In Bk. XX of the *Thes. Orth. Fid.* Nicetas accuses Saracens of sensuality and all-night carousing. He also replies to their accusation that Christians were idolaters for worshipping the Cross and images by saying that Moslems kiss the Sacred Stone, 'and this which they say is a stone is the head of Aphrodite whom they worshipped and called Chabar'. Those who look carefully can see ἐκ γλυφίδος ἀποσκίασμα of the goddess (*P. G.* 140, col. 109).

⁵ Chalandon, *Jean II*, etc. p. 661 note. He adds: 'Soit qu'ils ignorassent l'arabe, soit qu'ils ne connussent pas la doctrine musulmane, [les Grecs] se contentaient le plus souvent de diffamer leurs adversaires auxquels ils reprochaient toutes sortes d'absurdités et d'inepties.'

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

52. MANICHAEANS AND MASSALIANS

WE now come to the great polemical triumphs of the book, those gained by the Emperor over the Manichaeans (including Paulicians) and their offshoots the Bogomiles, triumphs which allow Anna to display her theological learning to the full.

When the Manichaeans first meet us in our pages, their race is not mentioned at all and their *αἵρεσις* only in passing. They are merely brave but undisciplined soldiers who after a defeat 'return home in disorder', and refuse to be lured even by the offer of 'gifts and honours' into returning to the standards.¹ After the collapse of the last Norman army at Castoria,² Alexius does not wish to go back to Constantinople before subduing *τούτους τοὺς ἀποστάτας*³ (whom in this passage she calls alternately Manichaeans and Paulicians, though later on she distinguishes between the two⁴) who were 'a stain on the glorious trophy of the Western wars'. But being anxious, because of their fierce recklessness and headstrong valour, first of all to avoid a rupture with them *μὴ χειρόν τι μελετήσαιεν*, and secondly to punish only their leaders and get the remainder for his army,⁵ he resorted to stratagem. On a pretence of registration the chiefs are brought before him ten at a time and arrested, their goods are distributed to Alexius' army, and their wives imprisoned. The rest of the body, some of whom are baptized by their own desire, are pardoned and sent home to Philippopolis under the supervision of a court official; only the ringleaders, 'those responsible for this great madness' (*ἀπόνοια*),⁶ are sent to island prisons.

As a direct result of this act of violence a baptized Manichaean named Traulus, living at court and married to a *θεραπαινίς* of the Empress, deserts Constantinople and his wife and escapes North to the Danube, where he marries a Patzinak

¹ IV. 4, p. 109; V. 3, p. 131. Curiously enough, Zonaras describes Alexius as driving 'illegally serving' Manichaeans out of the army, 'for an ancient law once for all forbids the Manichaeans to serve' (XVIII. 23).

² VI. 2.

³ Either 'deserters' or 'heretics', probably the former from what follows.

⁴ XIV. 8, p. 450, but see XV. 8, p. 486.

⁵ He actually does this in XIV. 9, p. 456.

⁶ Here again the 'madness' may be either desertion or heresy.

princess and ultimately brings that nation of raiders upon the Empire.¹ For the time being 'the Emperor, treating the affairs of the Manichaeans cursorily (*ὁδοῦ πάρεργον ποιησάμενος*), had them once more in treaty with him (*ὑποσπόνδους*)',² in spite of the fact that Traulus spurns 'a Golden Bull of pardon'; but when the inroad of the renegade and his followers with the Patzinaks finally came, it was a grave matter, 'for the Manichaeans are by nature a very warlike race, and ever longing like dogs to feed on the blood of men'.³ Still even in this Patzinak war certain Manichaeans fight 'very ardently' on the Emperor's side,⁴ and on a later occasion 'Romanus of the Manichaeans' is one of Alexius' closest attendants in camp.⁵ It is not however till Book XIV that Anna explains the past history of this interesting body of men. John Tzimiskēs⁶ who reigned 969–76 transported conquered Manichaeans as captive slaves from Pontus and Armenia into Thrace, to guard the Empire against Northern incursions. They did indeed come up to their reputation as 'formidable forces' and were 'very staunch guards' in keeping back 'the Scythians',⁷ till Alexius could bring the latter 'to total destruction', but were otherwise as 'free and unruly' at Philippopolis as in the days of their virtual independence (*τυραννιῶντες*) in their native land. Now for the first time we are taught to regard them as dangerous heretics. Speaking of the decline of Philippopolis, Anna ascribes it first to conquest by Northern enemies and then says:

'And in addition to other things it suffered from the presence of many impious men. For Armenians possessed this city, as well as the so-called Bogomiles about whom themselves and their heresy we will speak in due season later on, and also those most accursed Paulicians, being a branch of the Manichaean sect.⁸ As their name implies, they sprang from Paul and John, who having laid hold on the impiety of Manes handed it down unadulterated to those who were of their

¹ VI. 4.

² VI. 5, p. 158. The same words *ὁδοῦ πάρεργον ποιεῖσθαι* recur in XIV. 8, p. 453, also about the Manichaeans, but there Alexius treats the 'secondary matter' of their conversion, as 'greater' than his 'work' at the moment, which was war with the Comans.

³ VI. 14, p. 182. The same phrase is applied to the Comans in X. 2, p. 272, and is probably purely conventional.

⁴ VII. 3, p. 193.

⁵ XIII. 1, p. 377.

⁶ XIV. 8, p. 451. Theophanes (quoted in Du Cange's note on IV. 4, p. 109 c), writing early in the ninth century, says Constantine Copronymus (740–75) did this, so there seem to have been two transportations.

⁷ Anna says that Tzimiskēs turned these men who were *ἀντιμάχους* as heretics into *συμμάχους* in war, and set them as *ἐξιμάχους* forces against the enemy. The play on words is not easy to translate (XIV. 8, p. 452).

⁸ From this point onwards she identifies the two sects entirely, and only uses the word 'Paulicians' once more, in XV. 8, p. 486.

party. Therefore I should have liked to run over the teaching of the Manichaeans and to unfold it briefly, and furthermore to be zealous in the upsetting of these most godless doctrines. But partly because I know that the heresy of the Manichaeans is laughed at by all, partly because I am pressing on to the history, I leave on one side the arguments against them.'

She adds that Porphyry has reduced the 'foolish teaching of the Manichaeans to utter absurdity' (a rather startling statement which we shall analyse later). After devoting a few lines to Porphyry and Plato she returns to the Manichaeans. 'As for these pupils of Manes, and of Paul and John the sons of Calinice, because they were uncivilized and brutal in mind, and reckless to the point of bloodshed', they had been, as we have seen, brought into Thrace by Tzimisces as useful guards, but their disposition was unaltered. 'For the whole of Philippopolis except for a few men was made up of Manichaeans, and they tyrannized over the Christians there and plundered their goods, paying little or no heed to the messengers sent by the Emperor. Therefore they increased and all the regions round Philippopolis were heretic.' The presence of Armenians and Jacobites caused a 'confluence of all ills, for as to doctrines the rest disagreed with the Manichaeans, but in rebellion¹ they agreed'. Whereupon Alexius, oblivious of the threatening Comans, performed a 'truly most apostolic action', and earned the title of Thirteenth Apostle by using his tongue, sharpened through long study of holy writ, against these heretics. 'He tried to lead the Manichaeans away from their salt stream of religion and fill them with sweet doctrine. Therefore from morning till afternoon or evening, sometimes till the second or third watch of the night, he would summon them and teach them the orthodox faith, refuting the distorted nature of their heresy.' In this good work he was assisted by Bishop Eustratius of Nicaea, by the Bishop of Philippopolis, and by Nicephorus Bryennius Caesar, his own pupil in theology. A very large number were converted and after confessing their errors to a priest were baptized, even though at first many were obdurate, 'bringing forward quotations and testimonies from the sacred writings and thinking thereby to establish their hateful doctrine'. Alexius showed his evangelical zeal by foregoing sleep and food and 'persisting in the summer season in a tent out-of-doors'. Finally his 'dialectical warfare'² (λογικὴ ἀμύλλα) enables him to set up a trophy 'against the heretics, by his most pious arguments'. Their three

¹ ἀποστασία, which may equally well mean 'unorthodoxy'. See p. 333, note 3.

² XIV. 9, p. 454.

leaders, Culeon,¹ Cusinus, and Pholus, remain 'adamantine against yielding to argument', showing themselves 'ingenious in tearing the Divine Word to pieces and in busily interpreting it in an extravagant sense'. As they resist all the Emperor's 'premisses' and objections and pay no heed when he 'destroys their counter-arguments like the web of a spider', he sends them to Constantinople virtually as prisoners. Culeon finally consents to become 'a tame sheep of our fold', but the other two, 'being the most blasphemous of all Manichaeans' and showing symptoms of 'clear melancholy',² were thrown into prison, where they finally died.

After the departure of these three from Philippopolis Alexius went on with his great task and 'each day brought over to God sometimes 100, sometimes more', till 'myriads and thousands of innumerable men' were converted, and 'whole cities and lands, subjugated by all sorts of heresies', were brought back by him 'in various ways to our orthodox faith. For the principal men he thought worthy of great gifts, and he enrolled them among the leaders (λογάσι) of the soldiers.' To the 'commoner sort' and the agricultural labourers he gives the even more material reward of a new town, called Alexiopolis after himself, with 'corn-lands and vineyards and houses'. There he settles them and their families, and 'with a golden bull he confirmed his donations to them' and their heirs after them.

These passages have been given at length, so that we may realize what a formidable body the Manichaeans seemed to Anna and her father, dour opponents whether in arms or in arguments. As to their doctrines she is merely abusive instead of giving any details. Professor Burkitt³ has pointed out that we know the Manichaeans principally from the misrepresentations of their enemies,⁴ but Anna apparently thinks it a waste of time to represent them at all. Such slight criticism as she makes of their Dualism with reference to Porphyry and the Platonists will come into another chapter; it will be wiser now to turn to the other sects which sprang from them, the Paulicians, Massalians (or Enthusiasts), and Bogomiles.

As we have said above, Anna is far from clear as to the difference between Manichaeans and Paulicians, so we turn to Zigabenus in quest of further information. He argues at great

¹ He had been a captain over the 2,800 Manichaeans at Durazzo, and had led these insubordinate soldiers home after the disaster (IV. 4, p. 109; V. 3, p. 131).

² i. e. 'madness', equivalent to the ἡλιθιότης earlier in the chapter.

³ *Religion of the Manichees*, pp. 11 sqq.

⁴ Among many other theologians the Patriarch Photius (*P. G.* 102, cols. 16-264) wrote four books against the Manichaeans.

length¹ against the Paulicians and gives us their tenets, or rather his version of them. Like Anna, he believes the name² to have been compounded from those of Paul and John the two sons of Callinice, who were born in Samosata, a city infected with the Manichaean heresy. Led by these two the sect (according to Zigabenus) twisted the words of Scripture, believed in two principles and thought Matter wholly evil, did not accept the Incarnation as real or duly honour the B.V.M., would not worship the Cross, disbelieved in the two great sacraments, had no proper priesthood, rejected Jehovah and the Old Testament, and in morals were dissolute and drunken. We may note that almost all these aberrations are similarly credited not only to the original Manes, but also to the kindred heresies of Massalians and Bogomiles, to say nothing of the Mohammedans. It was easier to stigmatize a religion as *κατάπτυστος* or *θεοστυγής* than to probe its depths.³

When we come to the arch-enemy Basil the Bogomile and his fellow scoundrels, we are informed that if one parent of their doctrine was Manichaeism, the other was the heresy of the Massalians or Enthusiasts.⁴ Anna only refers to the Massalians once, in this connexion,⁵ and once to the 'taint' and the 'impiety' of the Enthusiasts, which led into *κακοδοξία* and doctrines 'impious and foreign to the church' the priest Blacherites, a man associated with the Monophysite heretics, and punished like them by a 'perpetual anathema'.⁶

We get the identification of the two sects in Zigabenus.⁷ The name of Massalians, he says, 'changed into the Greek tongue means Euchitae, suppliants', because of their insistence on prayer; 'they are also called Enthusiasts, as experiencing the

¹ *Panoplia*, cols. 1189-1273. Oeconomus (*op. cit.* p. 39) points out that they were really Adoptionists, holding Christ to be not God's Son, but an angel adopted by Him.

² The *Cath. Dict.* says that the origin of the name is obscure; it occurs first in 719, in the Acts of the Armenian Synod of Duin. The *Encycl. Brit.* says that the Bogomiles 'are also known as Pavlikeni'.

³ F. C. Conybeare published in 1896, with an English translation, the Armenian text of the Paulician *Key of Truth*. He speaks of them as 'the extreme left wing of the Iconoclasts', the great 'party of revolt against the revived paganism of the eighth century'. This agrees with what has been said above.

⁴ The *Encycl. Brit.* says: 'The word [Bogomile] is a direct translation into Slavonic of Massaliani, the Syrian name of the sect corresponding to the Greek Euchites. The Bogomiles are identified with the Massaliani in Slavonic documents of the thirteenth century.' The article goes on to say with truth: 'It is a complicated task to determine the true character and the tenets of any ancient sect; . . . the heretical literature has to a great extent either perished or been completely changed.'

⁵ XV. 8, p. 486.

⁶ X. 1, p. 270, and see Ch. 50 above.

⁷ *Panoplia*, col. 1273.

workings of a certain demon and believing them to come from the Holy Spirit'. The same writer, in the title of his *Confutatio*,¹ speaks of 'the blasphemous and varied heresy of the Massalians and of the Phundaitae also called Bogomiles and Euchitae and Enthusiasts and Encratetae and Marcionists'. Later on in Anathema I he speaks of the wide spread of 'the Massalians or Bogomiles', and in Anathema II of 'the heresy of the Massalians or Luco-petrians and Phundaitae and Bogomiles'. Nicetas adds three more aliases, Euphemitae, Martyriani, Sataniani.²

Out of this bewildering wealth of names one fact emerges, that their Orthodox opponents in the twelfth century did not know how to distinguish between the many allied sects. The most authoritative information about the Massalians comes from a manuscript, published by Fr. Diekamp, of a seventh-century writer.³ Of the various accusations brought against them under eighteen heads the most striking are as follows: they say that Satan and demons inhabit men, they disregard the two Sacraments and believe only in the efficacy of prayer (i. e. of the *Paternoster*), they utter strange talk of visions, man's perfectibility, &c., they shun ordinary life in all its forms (e. g. labour, marriage, public worship), and they are so anti-social as to harbour runaway slaves. All these charges are repeated by Zigabenus in the two works just cited and by Nicetas in his *Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei*. Further enormities are their Sabelian belief in one Hypostasis of the Trinity and of a second Trinity in the seventh Heaven; their sham clerical elections and guileful adoption of 'the habit of monks, desiring thereby to escape notice and deceive the multitude',⁴ their acceptance of additional scriptures, their scorn for the Cross and images, and also for churches as 'the abode of demons', and above all their rejection of the true doctrines of the Incarnation and Transubstantiation. On moral grounds they are reprobated for idleness,

¹ P. G. 131, col. 40.

The *Encycl. Brit.* ('Enthusiasm') says: 'A Syrian sect of the fourth century was known as the Enthusiasts; they believed that by perpetual prayer, ascetic practices and contemplation, man could become inspired by the Holy Spirit, in spite of the ruling evil spirit which the Fall had given to him. From their belief in the efficacy of prayer (*ευχή*) they were also known as Euchites.'

Pselus, in his *De operatione daemonum* (chs. II-V), speaks scornfully of the Euchitae, saying that whereas Manes accepted two principles (*ἀρχαί*), the *δημιουργός* of Good and the *ἀντρουργός* of Evil, this sect had three, the Father and two Sons; he also violently attacks their abominable rites.

² *Thes. Orth. Fid.*, Bk. IV, Ch. 36 (P. G. 139, cols. 1329 sqq.).

³ The monk Georgius, *B. Z.* IX, pp. 20-23.

⁴ P. G. 130, col. 1288, and P. G. 131, col. 41, τῷ κωδίῳ τὸν λύκον κρύπτουσι, and col. 45, τὸ ψευδομοναχικὸν σχῆμα μεταμφιάζουσι; cf. Anna's words about the Bogomiles, XV. 8-10.

hard-heartedness, immorality, perjury, &c., especially those who claim to be 'perfect'.

Modern critics have dwelt on the anti-social tendencies of this sect. Pullan¹ speaks of their lives spent in begging and no work, and also of their mystic dances which made them the 'nearest ancient Christian parallel to the dancing dervishes of modern Turkey'. Oeconomos² says the Massalians came from the Gnostics through Manichaeism, and by their disapproval of marriage and the Sacraments cut themselves off from the civil and religious life of the community. The last outcome of these various heresies was the sect of the Bogomiles, who may be said to have been Paulicians in dogma and Massalians in morals, and this is the sect which inspires Anna with the greatest abhorrence, indeed with an almost unaccountable savagery. She may be said to 'see red' whenever she mentions them.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

53. BOGOMILES

WE will first take Anna's account of the Bogomiles. They do not appear in her pages till her fourteenth Book, and then only in passing; their heresies were added to those of the Armenians and Jacobites as the sore affliction of Philippopolis.³ But in Book XV we have the better part of three chapters devoted to them.⁴

The last theological contest of her father's reign (a contest we may note in which he needs and obtains more ecclesiastical assistance than ever before⁵) is waged with these Bogomiles, who combined two 'very evil and contemptible doctrines', namely, the *δυσσέβεια* of the Manichaeans or Paulicians, and the *βδελυρία* of the Massalians. Their heresy was 'new, never before known to the church'. Or rather 'it seems it existed even in the times before my father but was unperceived, for the race of the Bogomiles is most artful in counterfeiting virtue'. They guilefully assumed the monastic habit and appearance, and were attacked by Alexius like 'a serpent lurking in its hole', on an occasion when peace abroad allowed him to apply him-

¹ *Church of the Fathers*, p. 318.

³ XIV. 8, p. 450.

⁵ XV. 8, p. 488; 9, p. 492; 10, p. 492.

² *Vie religieuse, &c.*, pp. 39, 47.

⁴ XV. 8-10.

self 'to more spiritual things'. The leader Basil¹ had taken for followers twelve 'apostles', and 'certain female disciples, women of bad character and altogether vile', and the heresy spread 'like fire'. Diblatius, one of the band, is induced by imprisonment and torture to betray his comrades, and 'the archsatriap of Satanael' (i. e. Basil) is summoned to Court. But fear or some other sinister motive (Anna we may remark calls it 'holy dissimulation') makes Alexius wary in dealing with him. Instead of arguing with the heretic publicly as he had with other lost sheep, the Emperor and his brother Isaac pretend to become his friends and disciples, and lead him on to a full exposition of his doctrines, which a shorthand writer takes down behind a curtain. 'So that accursed [θεοπληγής] man joined together all things speakable and unspeakable, and omitted no abominable [θεομισής, later θεοστυγής] doctrine, but even despised our dogma of Christ's Divinity and made out all the Incarnation as illusory.² Furthermore, he called the holy temples, alas, the temples of demons, and he treated and considered as of no account what we say is the consecrated body and blood of Him who is both the first High-priest and the first Sacrifice.' The Emperor proceeds to hold a Conference of the Senate, the Army, and the Church under the Patriarch Nicolas, and the charges against Basil are read. The heretic however, 'inflexible, true-bred Bogomile', refuses to abjure even under threats of torture, prison, and death. 'He clung to the demon with closed teeth and embraced his Satanael.' The Emperor pleads again and again with him, but the story ends in his being condemned by the leaders of the Church, and burnt alive in the Hippodrome. Anna's complacency over the execution is in modern eyes the greatest blot upon her book, and she does not improve matters by adducing puerile proofs of Basil's guilt, as we have seen when discussing Superstition.³ Before his death he was carefully segregated 'so that he should not have freedom to talk to any man and communicate to him his own defilement', a taint so 'foul' that "αἰδώς" prevents our princess from sullyng her womanly and royal tongue with his doctrines, and makes her refer the curious to the *Panoplia* of Zigabenus. The matter of Basil's followers, the twelve disciples and others who included many from 'the greatest houses',⁴ was even more serious and was dealt with before their master's death. At one moment

¹ Glycas says he was an *ἱατρός* (IV, p. 334).

² For this technical use of *θεολογία* and *οἰκονομία* see above, p. 307.

³ See Ch. 11, above.

⁴ The same is said of Italus and Nilus and Blachernites. Heresy was clearly an aristocratic foible.

Alexius contemplated the burning of them all, but for fear some Christians might be mixed up with the heretics he allowed them to choose between a pyre with a cross and a pyre without, and in this strangely simple way he satisfied himself as to the sheep and the goats. The former who marched to the Cross were dismissed 'with many words of encouragement', the latter, 'most godless', were imprisoned till they either recanted under daily exhortations or died in their errors. Captivity was also the fate of the Bogomiles present at their leader's death, saved by Alexius from popular lynching. The account of Basil's own execution is painful reading.¹ His misplaced belief in angels to rescue him and his momentary hesitation in face of the fire, unaccompanied however by any yielding, for he was 'as though of adamant', inspire in us neither the superstitious fear felt by the executioners nor the scornful horror evinced by Anna, but rather an admiring pity. Of his share in the matter rather than Alexius' may we use Anna's concluding words: *καινοπραγία τις και τόλμη παράδοξος*. To her it is 'the last work and labour of those great labours and successes of the Emperor';² to us it is an exhibition of *odium theologicum* at its worst.

Examined more closely, Anna's charges against the Bogomile doctrines resolve themselves into three: heretical views as to Christ's two Natures and the Incarnation, scorn of churches as the abode of demons, and disbelief in Transubstantiation. With all three we are familiar from our study of what she calls the 'impiety' and the 'wickedness' of the Paulicians and Massalians. Still it is not easy to see any connexion between these three tenets and the immorality, hypocrisy, and madness at which Anna darkly hints,³ any more than to understand why the heresy should have been so popular on the one hand and such a source of unreasoning fear to the Court on the other. In no other instance does Anna display such childish superstition or such vindictive prejudice, and we can almost see her shudder with disgust and terror as she writes.⁴

¹ See p. 520 below.

² XV. 10, p. 495.

³ Basil is *κάκιοςτος* and the 'archsatrap of Satanael' (XV. 8, p. 487); *μοναχὸς και πολλαχὸς τὴν κακίαν* (*ibid.*). He is also vain (XV. 8, p. 488) 'foul' (*ibid.*), 'demoniac' (*ibid.* p. 489), 'impious' (9, p. 490), 'mischievous' (10, p. 492), 'mad' (10, pp. 493-4), 'abominable' (10, p. 493).

⁴ Her explanation of an untimely earthquake and of stones falling from heaven on Basil's cell is as follows: 'these were reminders, it seems, of the demons round Satanael, who were enraged and thought it dreadful that he had betrayed the' [lacuna in text] 'to the Emperor and had brought on keen persecution against the error' (XV. 8, pp. 489, 490). May we not assume that Anna wishes to indicate the prevalence among the Bogomiles of unholy and awful rites (such as those with which Jews and Christians credited one another all through the Middle Ages), and that the missing word is a name for these? When Basil stands perplexed before

Other writers of Anna's day or a little later show the same unexplained hatred. It is true that the five Anathemas apparently directed against the Bogomiles in the *Synodikon*¹ are not abusive; but Zigabenus² cannot sufficiently revile the 'ridiculous mysteries' of the sect (all of them 'wizards, and corrupters and destroyers'), or their 'pernicious and pestilent' leader, 'full of corruption, and the instrument of all evil'. They are accused of every conceivable heresy, Paulician, Sabellian, Adoptionist, Manichaeian, Massalian, and what not. They are dualists, they reject the Old Testament, twist the New Testament into absurd meanings, deny the Incarnation, despise images, the Cross, and the Sacraments, consider churches as habitations of demons,³ and pray only the Lord's Prayer over and over again. Finally, like the Massalians, the Bogomiles 'dress as monks and assume their habit like a bait, hiding the wolf with the garment, so that, being readily received because of their habit and getting an opportunity for discourse, they may unsuspected in their friendly speeches drop poison into the ears of their listeners'. In his concluding paragraph Zigabenus once more praises the 'most wise and magnaminous Emperor' for having unmasked this dreadful heresy, burnt its chief teacher, 'having the assent

the pyre, it is because 'the devil that had seized his soul poured profound darkness on him' (XV. 10, p. 493). So mighty is the man for evil that the 'executioners feared lest perhaps the demons round Basil might do some strange wonder by the permission of God', in saving him from the fire. They therefore hurry his end (*ibid.* 494) and the very flames testify his guilt by leaping forward and consuming him utterly.

The constant recurrence of the name of Satanael may be elucidated from Zigabenus' *Panoplia*. He says the Bogomiles believed that God had two sons, of whom Satanael or Satan was older and more powerful than the Word, and after his expulsion from heaven made our world as it is, and formed Man 'out of earth mixed with water' (*P. G.* 130, cols. 1293 sqq.).

¹ pp. 425-6. The five errors are (1) Making Christ an 'adopted angel', and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Father. (2) Saying that the Devil made the visible world and Man. (3) Denying Transubstantiation. (4) Refusing to worship the Cross. (5) Scorning images as idols.

² *Panoplia*, Tit. XXVII. In the heading to Tit. XXVII he explains that 'Bogomile' means in Bulgarian 'one who desires the mercy of God'. From other sources we know that a Pope Bogomile lived in Bulgaria about the middle of the tenth century, and his heresy was attacked by his contemporary Cosmas, whose polemic *Against the Heretics*, written in old Slavonic, has been edited by M. G. Popruzenko (St. Petersburg, 1907). The sect survived the conquest of Bulgaria by Basil II in 1018, and members of it were to be found there and in Serbia and Bosnia down to the fourteenth century. Zigabenus also attacks the 'heresy of the godless Phundagiatae, who call themselves Christopolites, but in the West are called Bogomiles' in a separate treatise in *P. G.* 131, col. 48.

³ Thus in *Panoplia*, col. 1313 the Bogomiles are represented as saying that Satan lived first in the temple at Jerusalem, and then went to St. Sophia. We may compare the 'Satan's seat' of *Rev.* ii. 13, a term which the writer applied to the great Pergamos Altar, but which many an ardent Protestant would think not too strong for St. Peter's at Rome.

of all men in office whether clergy or laymen', and spared no pains to hunt down any disciples that might be left. As a matter of fact even after his drastic measures we hear from Nicetas Acominatus of two bishops convicted in 1143 as guilty of 'the most foul heresy of the Bogomiles', while in 1147 the Patriarch of Constantinople is deposed largely for having befriended a preaching Bogomile monk.¹

One more testimony to the sentiments inspired by this particular heresy shall be cited from the *Anon. Syn. Chron.*² The writer tells us that the Devil stirred up Basil 'forerunner of Anti-Christ', who in the stereotyped phrase was τῷ κωδίῳ κρύπτων τὸν λύκον; indeed like the cuttle-fish he emitted blackness 'that he might escape the notice of the hunter', and Alexius' horror over the heresy is vividly depicted. Basil is obstinate, vain, and the deceiver of many, and his death at the stake is a fit 'prelude to the everlasting fire', a suitable end to a 'rotten tree not bearing good fruit'.

What lies behind all this? It is hard to say, but a tentative suggestion may be made. In view of the peculiarly intimate footing of monks in the houses and with the womankind of the pious of those days, was it not a plausible suspicion that under the protection of the monastic habit these heretics wormed their way into families for evil purposes? 'They which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins' have always filled the right-minded with special fury and aversion; they have seemed to them 'seducing spirits', holding the 'doctrines of devils',³ 'false teachers who privily bring in damnable heresies',⁴ 'deceivers who subvert whole houses'.⁵ Among Basil's followers were women of the worst character,⁶ and charges of immorality practised under the plea of 'perfection', as well as those of utter scorn for the married state, were as we have seen freely brought against the various allied sects. Anna will not 'sully her tongue' with describing the Bogomile tenets. Is it not then conceivable that the virulence of her father and herself against these Bogomiles was due to the exalted moral standard which the Byzantine Court was taught to admire in Anna Dalassena, which Alexius (as may be seen from his enact-

¹ Chalandon, *Jean II, etc.* pp. 635 sqq.

² pp. 178-81.

³ 1 *Tim.* iv. 1; 2 *Tim.* iii. 6. Zigabenus indeed quotes both these texts in the beginning of his diatribe against the 'many-named sect of the Massalians or Bogomiles' (*P. G.* 131, cols. 40, 41), and in Anathema VI attacks their condemnation of marriage. But he does not make any specific charge of immorality.

⁴ 2 *Pet.* ii. 1.

⁵ *Tit.* i. 11; cf. *XV.* 9, p. 490, 'The evil had sunk καὶ εἰς οἰκίας μεγίστας.'

⁶ *XV.* 8, p. 487.

ments and letters) strove to reintroduce into monastic life, and which Irene championed and enforced in the *Typikon* of her Convent? If Italus was condemned rather as a neo-Platonist than as a heretic, the Bogomiles may have been held 'accursed' and 'God-hated' on moral rather than theological grounds, for 'foul' lives rather than for 'impious' doctrine. It is no answer to say that from them partly sprang the Cathari (Albigenses)¹ to whose example of austere and simple living the Christian Church owed so much. Their principles may have been so lofty as to impose 'a strain on human nature which few men could have been expected to bear',² and their practice under temptation may have collapsed, or they may merely have been misjudged. But wherever men with peculiar privileges and in a peculiar garb 'creep into houses', there is sure to arise, with or without justification, the suspicion, animosity, and jealous dread which permeate Anna's pages.³

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

FALSE DOCTRINE

54. DUALISM

FINALLY, before we leave the subject of Anna's theological knowledge, we must consider her general attitude towards the Dualism which lay at the root of so many heresies.⁴ When she is telling of her father's polemics against the Manichaeans at Philippopolis, she says she would like to describe the heresy, but she is 'pressing on to the history', and is 'aware that the

¹ M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, pp. 23 sqq.

² E. Holmes, *The Albigensian or Catharist Heresy*, p. 27.

³ It may be interesting to quote from a recent French criticism of the Bogomiles. R. P. Guérin Songeon, in his popular *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (1913), says on p. 215 of the Bogomiles in Bulgaria: 'Tout patriote devait être bogomile. Philippopoli, où Tzimisces avait transporté une nouvelle escouade d'Arméniens dualistes, fut le foyer de ce nationalisme hérétique. . . . Traqué en Bulgarie, le bogomilisme passa en Serbie et en Bosnie. En sapant l'amour de la patrie, en prêchant la lutte des classes, en supprimant toute morale, cette doctrine anarchique acheva de décomposer les peuples de la presqu'île et fut le meilleur auxiliaire de la conquête ottomane. Au moment de l'arrivée des Turcs, les neuf dixièmes des bogomiles embrassèrent l'islamisme et saluèrent comme des libérateurs les ennemis de la civilisation chrétienne.' *B. Z.* XXVI, p. 200, contains a notice of a new book by J. Iwanow, *Bogomilenbücher und Legenden* (Sofia, 1925). The reviewer says the writer has been led 'zu dem sicheren Schluss dass die abendländischen Katharer und Patarer ihre Lehre von den Bogomilen übernommen haben'.

⁴ If we are to believe Holmes (*op. cit.* p. 100), Christianity itself is 'dualistic to the core'.

heresy of the Manichaeans is laughed at by all'.¹ She continues: 'Furthermore I know that not only those of our faith² but actually the Porphyry who raged against us in many chapters himself reduced to utter absurdity the foolish teaching of the Manichaeans by very scientifically investigating concerning the two Principles [ἀρχῶν], although his Rule of One [μοναρχία] compels him to bring his readers to the Platonic Unit [ένάς], or, in other words the One [τὸ έν]. Now we indeed honour the Rule of One, but not that which One Person circumscribes.³ Nor have we admitted the One of Plato; this is ineffable among the Hellenes and secret among the Chaldeans; for they hang from it many other principles both of and above the world.'

The passage, short as it is, bristles with difficulties and technical terms, and needs careful study.

At the first blush it reads as if Anna were alluding to some definite writing of the philosopher Porphyry against the Manichaeans, and no such has come down to us. In his *Life of Plotinus* he describes his master's battles against the Gnostics, who as is well known⁴ claimed to reach perfection through γνώσις or knowledge of the invisible world, and taught that the visible world of matter was evil. These Gnostics were so numerous about the middle of the third century that they could easily form part of Plotinus' audience at Rome.⁵ But though they ostensibly came to learn, they began attacking their master's idol Plato and were felt to require drastic treatment. Porphyry says:⁶

'There came against [Plotinus] many of the Christians, and heretics raised up out of old philosophy . . . who . . . bringing forward

¹ XIV. 8, p. 451. According to Sir T. Arnold (*Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 287), it was not 'laughed at' by the Moslems but severely persecuted.

² αἰλή, literally 'court', is probably here equivalent to 'faith', as also in XIII. 12, p. 406; see p. 497 below.

³ Reading οὐχ ἦν έν πρόσωπον περιγράφει (instead of the οὐχὶ . . . of the edition *princeps* of 1651 or the οὐχ ἦ . . . conjectured by Reifferscheid). This makes it a correct quotation from Greg. Nazianzen and from Zigabenus after him (*P. G.* 36, col. 76; *P. G.* 130, cols. 25 and 61), as well as being in accordance with the technical use of περιγράφειν. We may note that the better Florentine manuscript (F) of the *Alexias* ceases before this point in Book XIV, so that we have to rely on the inferior Coislinianus (C), where, as may be seen in the Paris Bibl. Nat., the text has been emended, ἦ being written with blacker ink in a space that might originally have held two letters. Reifferscheid, (*Praefatio*, p. vii) makes C out as equivalent to the Tolosanum which Possinus handled in 1651 and which Oster describes as 'spurlos verschwunden'.

⁴ Eug. De Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, tome 27 de la Bibl. de l'École des hautes études (Sc. rel.). Cf. Bouillet, *Ennéades de Plotin*, and *Vita Plot.*, ch. 24.

⁵ Earlier in the same century Hippolytus or Origen included them in the *Contra haereses* (*P. G.* 17, col. 3159, 3343). In the second century St. Irenaeus had waged war on them, and two centuries later they were still a danger, as we see from Epiphanius (*P. G.* 41, cols. 329-64).

⁶ *Vita Plot.*, ch. 16.

revelations (ἀποκαλύψεις) of Zoroaster' [and others] . . . 'deceived many being themselves deceived, saying that Plato had not reached to the depth of intelligible substance (τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας). Wherefore Plotinus, making many refutations in his lectures (συνουσίαις) and writing a book which we entitled πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς, left us to judge the rest. . . . And I, Porphyry, made frequent refutations in reply to the work of Zoroaster (πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου).'

He showed the book to be a recent forgery 'composed by those who devised the heresy, to make men think (εἰς δόξαν) that the doctrines which they chose to proclaim came from the ancient Zoroaster'. Plotinus' book against the Gnostics is identified by Fabricius¹ and later writers with *Enneas II*, Book IX, which though it does not contain the word 'Gnostic' is headed 'Against those who say that the Demiurge of the world is evil, and that the world is evil'. Two modern writers among others have written vivid descriptions of this struggle between neo-Platonism and Gnosticism. Carl Schmidt² says of the book of Plotinus just mentioned: 'Platonischer Monismus und gnostischer Dualismus stehen sich hier in ihrer ganzen Schroffheit gegenüber', for the Gnostics taught of a good God side by side with a bad Demiurge and of a pure κόσμος νοητός unequally yoked with a material κόσμος αἰσθητός. J. Bidez³ says, 'La poussée des gnostiques était violente à Rome même, vers le milieu du 3^{me} siècle', and continues: 'Brandissant apocalypses et révélation, c'est à Platon qu'ils s'en prenaient. A son royaume des Idées pures, ils opposaient un panthéon resplendissant d'émanations lumineuses.'⁴ Amelius, fellow-pupil with Porphyry of Plotinus, 'fit du gnostique Zostrianus une refutation systématique en 40 livres'. This importance attached by Christians and non-Christians to the destruction of Gnosticism⁵ explains the subsequent violence of the attacks on Manichaeism⁶, which in the words of Oeconomos⁷ 's'est assimilé les principaux éléments du gnosticisme expirant', or, to quote Schmidt once more, 'ja nur eine neue Auflage des Gnosticismus

¹ *Bibl. graeca*, V. 687.

² *Plotin's Stellung zum Gnosticismus* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchrist. Litt. XX, Neue Folge, V, 1900, ed. Gebhardt and Harnack).

³ *Vie de Porphyre*, pp. 44, 45.

⁴ Epiphanius says that Bardesanes, following Valentinus, 'πολλὰς . . . ἀρχὰς καὶ προβολὰς [emanations] διηγέσαστο' (*P. G.* 41, cols. 992, 993). Irenaeus says Valentinus began with a Dyad and taught of emanations therefrom (*P. G.* 7, cols. 560 sqq.).

⁵ The names of a great many Gnostics of various shades have come down to us (e.g. Bardesanes, Basilides, Valentinus, &c.) in various polemics directed against them; this in itself proves how much they were feared.

⁶ Zīgabenus couples Manes and Valentinus together (*Panoplia*, cols. 305-9).

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 39.

war', and owed to that origin its 'gewaltigen Siegeszug durch den Occident im 4^{ten} Jahrhundert'.¹

Whatever else Manes did or taught he certainly preached Dualism; and his two principles, Good and Evil, are assailed by his opponents from Epiphanius² right down to Zigabenus³ and Nicetas.⁴ Two recent writers have made statements worth quoting. Professor Burkitt⁵ says: 'Eznik of Kolb, the Armenian writer of the fifth century, writing against Zoroastrianism, treats Manichaeism as a variety of Persian religion', or in other words 'as another religion found in Persian lands which is Dualistic in character, which nevertheless the Persians persecuted'. Dr. Pullan⁶ says of Manichaeism that it 'started from the old Persian belief that the world is a battle-ground between Light and Darkness, which are opposed as good and evil'. From this, as we have seen above, the Manichaean heretics in the Christian Church came to deny the Incarnation and prohibit Image-worship, because both are dependent on Matter, which is evil.⁷ To this point however Anna does not allude. 'The impiety of Manes' and 'the most godless doctrines' of his followers (a heresy

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 24.

² *P. G.* 42, *Haer.* 66, especially cols. 30 and 41. He puts the matter very clearly.

³ *Panoplia*, cols. 305 sqq., especially col. 315. In col. 1305, as in col. 317, the *Μανιχαϊκή παραφροσύνη* is accused of denying the Incarnation.

⁴ *Thes. Orth. Fid.*, Bk. IV, ch. 33, *P. G.* 139, cols. 1316-24. Characteristically he gives alternative names for the heretics; Manichaeans are called Cubrici (because Manes was originally Cubricus) and *Ἀκουαῖται* from a teacher Acouas. He summarizes the usual teaching of the founder, i.e. the two Principles (God=Good=Light, and Matter=Evil=Darkness) and the doctrines derived therefrom; that the God of the Old Testament is not the God of the New; that Christ was only a phantom and only seemed to suffer, and that there is no resurrection of the body. To this he adds not only belief in metempsychosis, and in *ἐμφυχα* plants, trees, &c., but also the worship of the Sun, Moon, and Stars (a charge apparently peculiar to this critic; when Pullan, *op. cit.* p. 178, makes the same statement he quotes no authority). He says that Manes, who called himself the Paraclete, undertook to cure a Persian prince, and failing was flayed alive by the king. The chapter ends with a statement that by law Manichaeans cannot inherit either under a will or from an intestate, but their goods go to *τὸ δημόσιον ταμεῖον*. Yet 'their heresy still flourishes'. A treatise against the Manichaeans written in the time of Justinian by Bishop Zacharias of Mitylene, and published by Cardinal Pitra in *Analecta Sacra*, vol. V, p. 69 (1888) says: 'Evil is not a substance (*οὐσία*) but a transgression of divine law. If then evils are not by nature and God is the maker of natures, there is one sole *ἀρχή*.' So Gregory of Nyssa protests that Evil is *οὐχ ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ στέρησις* (*Panoplia*, p. 313). Bishop Methodius similarly says that evil is 'ignorance or indifference concerning [God]' (*P. G.* 18, col. 345). It is of course the old theologians to explain it away are interesting.

⁵ *Religion of the Manichees*, p. 72. He goes on to point out that Dualism is not confined to Zoroastrianism, nor is Manichaeism a mere variant of that religion. But this hardly concerns us.

⁶ *Church of the Fathers*, p. 178.

⁷ See Baynes, *Byz. Emp.*, p. 90. Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, cols. 317, 429, bears on this, and cf. col. 1308.

'laughed at by all' and stigmatized as 'foolish teaching'), all this resolves itself in her pages simply into the charge of Dualism.¹ So when we are tempted to wonder whether Anna, in saying that 'Porphyry . . . reduced to utter absurdity the foolish teaching of the Manichaeans', could possibly be making a confusion between the great Neo-Platonist and Bishop Porphyry of Gaza, we are met with three objections. First, though Bishop Porphyry *preached* against the Manichaeans² he does not seem to have *written* anything. Secondly, the Pagan philosopher was too well known and too much admired in the Middle Ages for such a confusion to be at all probable.³ Thirdly, even though Porphyry does not appear to have written directly against the Manichaeans (whose name does not appear in his works), he certainly controverted their main tenet and was a bitter enemy of their forerunners the Gnostics. The end of Anna's sentence, that he showed the folly of Manichaeism 'by very scientific investigations concerning the two principles', need not mean that he 'attacked the Manichaeans, but only the dualism which was associated with their name'.⁴

¹ XIV. 8, pp. 450, 451.

² See his Biography by Mark the Deacon, translated by G. F. Hill (1913).

³ Admiring allusions to Porphyry as a philosopher and writer explaining Aristotle and inspiring men's minds occur in two epigrams ascribed to Leo the Philosopher (circa 900 A.D.) published respectively in J. F. Boissonade's *Anecdota graeca*, II, p. 473, and *Anth. Pal.*, IX, No. 214. Psellus quotes his opinion with respect in his *Summary of the Chaldaean doctrines* (*P. G.* 122, col. 1153), and studied his writings along with those of Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Proclus (*Chron.*, Const. IX, Byz. T., p. 108). The same writer also alludes three times to Porphyry, once as 'the wise', in discussing Homer (C. N. Sathas, *Sur les commentaires byzantins*, Ann. Ass. études grecques, 1875, pp. 207, 216-7); and Bidez (*op. cit.* p. 135) tells us that the pupils of Psellus used Porphyry as a help towards understanding popular writers. The same critic says: 'C'est grâce à Porphyre qu'Aristote va exercer désormais en logique une souveraine autorité' (p. 62). The 'logic of Porphyry' was an integral part of Dialectics in the West (*Camb. Med. Hist.* V, p. 765), and cannot have been unknown in the East. St. Augustine, who had himself been a Manichaean, has much to say about Porphyry's *De regressu animae* in his *De civit. dei* (X, XII, XIII, XXII), and Bouillet thinks Porphyry helped to form St. Augustine as a philosopher. But this is not relevant to our subject, as Anna's theological instructors had probably never read a line of the Bishop of Hippo. What is more to the point is that Porphyry's fifteen books against the Christians (to which Anna alludes as his 'raging against us in many chapters') were thought powerful enough to be burnt in 448 by order of the two Emperors of the day, and were controverted, according to St. Jerome, who speaks of his blasphemy and 'impudence', by Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinaris; Methodius indeed consecrated 'decem milia versuum' to the task, *P. L.* 22, cols. 666, 923 and three extracts from a prose work of his *κατὰ Πορφύριον* are given in *P. G.* 18, col. 345. Socrates calls the Arian heretics Porphyrians as a term of great reproach. Finally, we may mention a fresco in the Viale Manzoni which V. Daniel (*Revue belge de philol. et d'hist.* III, 1923) explains for the first time as representing not Job and his wife, nor Odysseus and Penelope, but something out of Porphyry's *De antro nymphaeum*.

⁴ I owe this explanation to the kindness of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, from whose unpublished letter I am permitted to quote.

This brings us to the various technical terms used by Anna in this connexion, 'principles', *μοναρχία*, and 'the Platonic *ένάς* or *τὸ έν*'. The two principles of Good and Evil need not be further dwelt on. Porphyry wrote two books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, of which we only possess one sentence, preserved by Proclus¹, to the effect that Mind is *αἰώνιον*, but *τὸ έν* is before *παντὸς αἰῶνος*. He is also quoted by Cyril as saying in his *Lives of the Philosophers*² that Plato makes God or the One or the Good the cause of all things, and in the Letter to his wife Marcella³ he acknowledges one supreme deity. The works of his master Plotinus are full of 'the One or the Good';⁴ so are those of Proclus⁵ and Damascius.⁶ Psellus in his short summary of the teaching of the Chaldaeans begins with the words *μίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων δοξάζουσι, καὶ έν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀπογυμνοῦσι*, and ends with the statement that Aristotle and Plato 'accepted the greater part' of the Chaldaean doctrines, while the School of Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Proclus 'accepted them without criticism as divine voices'.

It need hardly be said that all these later philosophers derived their notions of the Good and the One from their model Plato.⁷ In the *Parmenides*, *Sophistes*, and *Philebus* we find the One and the Many appearing again and again, and the terms *μονάς*, *ένάς*, and *έν* are too closely associated in our minds with Plato to need discussion here. But the word *μοναρχία* used by Anna calls for a word of comment. Pullan⁸ says: 'The word Monarchia had been used by St. Irenaeus⁹ to signify the sovereign unity of the Godhead, and it was meant to repudiate the Gnostic theory of numerous divine emanations.'¹⁰ Porphyry himself seems to have fastened on it for attacking Christianity,

¹ *In Platonis thelogiam*, ed. Portus, 1618. The same thought comes in Porphyry's *ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά*, ch. xliii, §§ 1, 5 (ed. Mommert, pp. 41-3). Mind is *πολλά*, the One must be before *τῶν πολλῶν*.

² Only Bk. I exists whole. The rest is fragments.

³ Ch. 18, *Opuscula*, ed. A. Nanck, p. 286.

⁴ *Enn.* II. 9; III. 3 and 8; V. 4; VI. 8 and 9.

⁵ *In Parmen.*, translated in *Chaldaean Oracles of Zoroaster*, p. 30, published by Theosoph. Soc.

⁶ *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, translated by A. Chaignet *passim*, e. g. §§ 1, 49, 125.

⁷ Syrianus, in his *Comment. ad Metaph. Aristot.* XIII. 7, says, 'Unum et Bonum idem sunt apud Platonem'.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 133.

⁹ St. Jerome tells us that Irenaeus wrote a book 'De monarchia, sive quod Deus non sit auctor malorum' *P. L.* 23, col. 649.

¹⁰ Pullan also refers to the passage where Tertullian (*P. L.* 2, cols. 157-9) says the word was used as a sort of catchword by 'imprudentes et idiotae', who did not really understand it, and emphatically denies that a Monarchia excluded the having the Son as 'particeps'. But here again we must not ascribe Anna's ideas to any Latin influence.

and we find him saying that 'God could not rightly be called *μονάρχης* unless he ruled over [other] gods, *μονάρχης γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ μόνος ὢν ἀλλ' ὁ μόνος ἄρχων*'.¹ This polytheistic view is combated at great length by Zigabenus. In his Preface to the *Panoplia*, he says that of the three theories about God, *ἀναρχία*, *πολυαρχία*, and *μοναρχία*, the first two are Greek absurdities and the third only is tenable, and this thesis is expanded whenever occasion serves. But a modern reader will heartily agree with his quotation from Dionysius the Areopagite,² that *ἡ θεαρχία*, though sometimes spoken of as a *μονάς* or a *ένάς*, sometimes as a *τριάς*, is really understood by none.

Anna at any rate has no doubts or trepidations as to her powers of grasping and uttering theological subtleties, and she proceeds at once from the dogma of *μοναρχία* to those implied in the words *πρόσωπον* and *περιγράφειν*. The first she uses like Zigabenus as synonymous with *ὑπόστασις* or Person, a term applied sometimes to the Three Persons of the Trinity, sometimes to the One Person in Two Natures of our Lord. As to *περιγράφειν* and its opposites they refer to the teaching expressed in the Athanasian Creed, that God is 'incomprehensible', i.e. cannot be circumscribed. So Zigabenus quotes from John Damascene the dictum that if there were many gods *τὸ ἀπερίγραφτον* would be impossible for each, and *δεῖ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπερίγραφτον εἶναι καὶ πάντα πληροῦντα καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιγράφοντα*.³

Finally Anna turns to occult matters and with much assurance tells us that 'the One of Plato' is *ἄρρητον* among the Hellenes and *ἀπόρρητον* among the Chaldaeans.⁴ Does she really mean anything by this? It seems doubtful. In the first place we must remember that 'Chaldaean' has always, for some strange reason, been very loosely used. Kroll suggests that 'jeder Occultismus chaldäisch genannt werden konnte',⁵ Burkitt⁶ says, 'Chaldaeism had come to mean little more than astrology',⁷ and even to-day a correspondent of Professor Margoliouth's told him that 'one of her friends could speak Chaldaic fluently'. Porphyry's works have many allusions to Chaldaeans.

¹ Macarius Magnes, IV. 20, ed. C. Blondel, Paris 1876, p. 199.

² *Panoplia*, (P. G. 130, col. 45).

³ *Panoplia*, col. 44.

⁴ XIV. 8, p. 451.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, Vol. III, col. 2045.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 73.

⁷ According to Rambaud (*Rev. Hist.* III, p. 266), Psellus, who afterwards himself wrote on Chaldaean Oracles, accused John Xiphilinus and Cerularius 'de verser dans les superstitions chaldéennes'. Iamblichus (*de comm. math. sci.*, ed. N. Festa p. 66) says that *οἱ μαθηματικοί* were called 'Chaldaeans' by the Assyrians. On Babylonian wisdom, see Nock in *Essays on the Trinity* (1928), p. 66.

He says that they engaged in speculations about the heavens and like the Jews worshipped the Supreme Deity; that Pythagoras who consorted with them in Babylon learnt from them 'what are the principles of all things', and that importance should be attached to certain initiations of Chaldaean theurgi.¹ Aeneas of Gaza² tells how Porphyry 'wrote a whole book in which he puts forth the Oracles of the Chaldaeans', and we know that he also wrote about Julian the Chaldaean philosopher, who according to Bidez³ was the originator under Marcus Aurelius of 'un système de gnose païenne', a mixture of various beliefs of West and East including fire worship and belief in angels and demons. The *Chaldaica Logia*, edited by Kroll,⁴ have been described as a 'mixture of Pythagorean Platonic and Jewish teaching', but show no sure signs of neo-Platonic influence. On the other hand the Doctrines of the Chaldaeans as summarized by Psellus seem to the uninitiated pure gibberish, with their Paternal Depth, and Teletarchs and Fountains, and Gods ζωναῖοι and ἄζωνοι. The connexion between Manichaeism and Chaldaean learning is not made clear even by modern critics,⁵ and we may be sure that Anna did not recognize it, or she would not have spoken so admiringly of Psellus for 'having mastered the learning of the Hellenes and Chaldaeans'. Probably even in her day Mesopotamia was a blessed word, and we shall gain little by probing her vague generalities farther.

Two couples of words deserve a brief notice before we close this investigation. Anna says the doctrine of the One is ἄρρητον to Hellenes and ἀπόρρητον to Chaldaeans. The antithesis seems to be between 'ineffable' and 'secret' (or 'esoteric'). The former word in its mystical sense can be traced back to Plato⁶ and is found in Damascius (where his translator, Chaignet, paraphrases it as 'que la parole humaine est impuissante à

¹ *Life of Pythag.*, chs. 6 and 12, and *De regressu animae*. See Bidez (*op. cit.*). St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei*, X. 27) says Porphyry got some of his opinions 'a Chaldaeis magistris'.

² Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.* I, p. 309; V, p. 744.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 88.

⁴ *De oraculis Chaldaicis*, Bresl. philol., Abh. VII. 1.

⁵ G. Krüger (*B. Z.* XXII, p. 477) says that the 123rd Homily of Severus of Antioch, published by Kugener and Cumont, shows 'the close connexion of Manichaeism with the Chaldaizing Mazdaism of the Babylon of that time', and Pullan (*op. cit.* p. 178) says Manichaeism was compounded of Persian Dualism 'overlaid with Babylonian theories connected with the worship of the stars'. But no proofs are adduced by either writer. In the sixth century with equal vagueness Damascius (περὶ ἀρχῶν, § 125) said, 'Les Babyloniens semblent avoir négligé le principe Un de tout et en avoir établi deux', trans. A. Chaignet, *Problèmes et Solutions*, Vol. II, p. 128.

⁶ *Sophistes*, 238.

rendre¹), Porphyry,² and Proclus.³ But its most technical meaning so to speak and the one to which Anna probably alludes, belongs to Valentinian Gnosticism, which started everything from an unnamed (ἀνονόμαστον) Dyad, ἧς τὸ μὲν τι καλεῖσθαι Ἄρρητον, τὸ δὲ Σιγήν.⁴ What idea this conveyed to our authoress it is impossible to conjecture. From the way that she hurries over these sublime matters, we may perhaps infer that the 'ineffable' and the 'esoteric' were in truth equally obscure to her, and that she would have been among those towards whom Pythagoras made ἀπορρήτους his λόγους as fit only for the brotherhood to hear.⁵

Her other pair of words, ἐγκοσμίους τε καὶ ὑπερκοσμίους (ἀρχάς) is also an echo of Gnosticism. The two are used in the second century by Basilides⁶ and three hundred years later by Proclus,⁷ on each occasion with reference to the origin of all things. How any one could 'hang' them from the One of Plato is a mystery which Anna does not explain.⁸

We may now say good-bye to her polemical pretensions, and turn with relief to something less wholly remote from us and our sphere of interests than these theological hair-splittings. But one thing must clearly be burnt into all her readers' brains, namely that the danger of falling into heresies unawares was to the Byzantines of the twelfth century a very real nightmare. Everywhere 'the troops of Midian prowl, and prowl around'

¹ περὶ ἀρχῶν, §§ 2, 3, 49, and see Chaignet, vol. I, p. 10, note 4.

² e.g. *Life of Pythag.*, ed. A. Nauck, p. 49.

³ *In I Euclidis librum* (ed. G. Friedlein), pp. 90, 141.

⁴ Irenaeus, *v. Haer.*, Bk. I (P. G. 7, col. 560). Another form of Gnostic cosmogony was an Ogdoad, ἄρρητον being one of the first four things from which the next four emanated (*ibid.*, col. 568).

⁵ Iamblichus, *de comm. math. scientia*, ch. 24 (ed. N. Festa), p. 75. So Proclus (*In I Euclidis librum*, p. 90) speaks of ἀπορρητότεροι λόγοι. Psellus, in his *Summary of Chaldaean doctrines* (P. G. 122, col. 1152), says that 'in each soul there is an unknown ιδιότης ῥητοῦ καὶ ἀπορρήτου (secret) συνθήματος'. It is a little suspicious that Anna finds excuses for not going into detail about either the Manichaean or the Bogomile heresy. One had been exposed already and the other would sully her tongue. Is not this the same spirit that makes pupils in examinations, as was once said in a report, 'cloak ignorance with verbiage'?

⁶ Basilides divided τὰ ὄντα into κόσμος and ὑπερκόσμος (*Contra haereses* P. G. 17, col. 3310).

⁷ *In Crat.* 169, ed. G. Pasquali, p. 93. Here we meet with πατρική αἰτία and πηγὴ, which he elsewhere couples with ἀρχή (*In Tim.* 242 D), ed. E. Diehl, III, p. 14.

⁸ She may possibly be referring to the passage of Irenaeus about the προαρχή, and the ἐνότης and μονότης which τὸ ἐν οὖσαι προήκαντο . . . ἀρχὴν πάντων . . . ἣν Ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος μονάδα καλεῖ . . . ἣ τε μονότης καὶ ἐνότης, μονάς τε καὶ τὸ ἐν, προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς προβολὰς τῶν Αἰώνων (P. G. 7, col. 565). This is hard to reconcile with col. 560 on the Dyad, but the whole matter is beyond our scope except in so far as it illustrates how audaciously in her handling of terms and doctrines Anna exercised herself in great matters which were too high for her.

as they write. And even if a man had lived his whole life in perfect orthodoxy, was there not always the peril that some evil enemy, like Browning's monk, might

trip him, just a-dying,
Sure of heaven as sure can be,
Spin him round and send him flying
Off to hell, a Manichee?

MILITARY AFFAIRS

55. INTRODUCTION, NUMBERS AND PAY

WHEN we come to consider Anna's attitude towards military affairs, it is difficult to know how much to say and how much to omit, as her interest in Alexius' campaigns is only one, though the principal, aspect of her devotion to him and to the Empire which they served to 'widen'. It is not unfair to say that his successes in the field are not remarkable. Robert defeated him at Durazzo, and Bohemund after being twice victorious was obliged to withdraw not so much because Alexius relieved Larissa as because he corrupted the Norman army. Years later the same enemy was brought to terms not by arms but by famine. In the Patzinak war the terrible Greek disaster at Dristra was only after a considerable time compensated by the success at Lebunium. In the Turkish fighting Alexius took no part till nearly the end of his life, and even then his triumph lay rather in a profitable treaty than in any brilliant victory. It is therefore peculiarly instructive to see how Anna as a historian regards her father's military career. In addition to countless passages about his 'strategy', 'trophies', and the like, she three times gives us a summarized picture of his varied combats and successes.

First, in looking back to the Crusade she starts with an outline of Alexius' position at that time. The Westerners were ambitious and terribly numerous, and the Emperor knew that 'all the Greek forces would not suffice against a fraction of them, even if they were collected into one body; how much less then when most of them were scattered, some guarding the gorges¹ towards Serbia and Dalmatia, others those towards the Danube, so as to watch for the attacks of the Comans and Dacians, while

¹ This need to watch his frontiers must never be forgotten in estimating Alexius' attitude to the Crusaders (Chalandon, *Alexis I^{er}*, p. 163).

many were entrusted with the defence of Durazzo, so that it might not again' (i.e. as in the first campaign of Robert Guiscard) 'be captured by the Celts'. Anna then tells us how he 'restrained with promises and gifts' the less formidable of his enemies (evidently those coming from the North), and devoted himself wholly to resisting the Western Crusaders without, and the unnamed traitors within. On every occasion indeed he 'made a stand against what was very urgent, like one notable among doctors using the rule of his art'.¹

Secondly, the public announcement by Eustathius Camytzes of her father's Turkish victories elicits from her this comment:² 'In truth as far as fortune went, he had had to do with bad luck (*δυσχερέσει πράγμασι ώμιλήκει*), adverse both to him and to the interests of the Greeks, and had been utterly swamped by a flood of misfortunes, but his valour (*ἀρετή*) and alertness and activity stood firm and was stubborn against every misfortune. For on none of the former emperors even up to our day did there descend such a complexity of troubles and such mischief from all sorts of men at home and abroad as we have found in the case of this Emperor. For either it was necessary, with God's permission, that the affairs of the Greeks should be in evil case . . . or else the Greek power had come to this condition from the folly of previous rulers; at any rate a throng of troubles and a disturbance swelling like the sea had come together in the times of my father's reign. For at the same time and all together the Scythian from the North and the Celt from the West and Ishmael from the East had been stirred up, apart from the dangers on the sea, and leaving out the barbarians who ruled the waves and the innumerable pirate ships, which either the rage of the Saracens built, or the greed of the Vetones and their ill will towards the Greek empire constructed.³ And all cast envious eyes on her; for the empire of the Greeks, being by nature mistress of the other nations, has what is slavish as her constitutional enemy (*ἐχθρωδώς διακείμενον*) and whenever this can seize an occasion, it attacks her now from this side and now from that by land and sea. And things in former days and the circumstances of the Empire before our times were very easy and considerably lighter, but in my father's time, as soon as he had mounted on the imperial chariot, immediately from all parts dangers rushed in together. Then the Celt was roused and showed the point of his spear and the Ishmaelite bent his bow, and all the Nomadic race and the whole Scythian tribe pressed on with myriad wagons.'

¹ XIV. 4, pp. 434, 435.

² XIV. 7, pp. 444, 445.

³ Anna here makes her only important allusion to the pirate vessels which infested the Mediterranean from the first days of the Arab invasion, and for many centuries afterwards. The 'barbarous Vetones' were, so Du Cange tells us in his note on XII. 9, p. 370 c, the Slav pirates of Narenta on the Illyrian coast, who on being driven from Italy by the Lombards had settled on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic and waged incessant war with the Venetians.

Anna as usual fears the charge of partiality in praising her father, and meets it by reiterating her statement as to 'the Emperor's perils on behalf of the welfare of the Greeks, and . . . the struggles and misfortunes . . . which he endured on behalf of the Christians'. As usual also she appeals to first-hand testimony in confirmation.

Thirdly, at the end of the Emperor's last campaign, in which he made with the Turks a treaty that restored the imperial boundaries to the condition they were in 'before Romanus Diogenes wrapped round him the reins of empire and was defeated in that great defeat',¹ Anna once more asserts her father's claims to having saved the state.

'Since the barbarians came over the boundaries of the Empire, from the very accession of Diogenes² who marched against them and was unlucky as men say from the word *Go*, not till the reign of my father was the barbarian hand³ destroyed, but swords and spears were whetted against Christians, and there were battles and wars and slaughters. For cities disappeared, lands were ravaged, and all the realm of the Greeks was defiled by blood of Christians. Some fell pitifully by arrows and spears, some were driven away from their homes and led captive to the cities of Persia. And fear seized all, as they hurried to hide in caves and groves and mountains from the evils falling on them. Among these some lamented over their sufferings in being led away to Persia, while others still going about (if indeed any remained in the Greek borders) deeply groaning bewailed one a son, one a daughter. One wept over a brother, one a nephew dying untimely, and like women they would drop down hot tears. And at that time (*τότε*) there was no condition without tears and groans. And except for a few, I mean Tzimiskes and the Emperor Basil, from the early days (*ἐκτοτε*) till my father no emperor had dared under any circumstances to touch Asia with the tips of his feet.'⁴

On this somewhat highfalutin passage of Anna's we have an interesting commentary in her father's first poem to John.⁵ He too enumerates the external and internal enemies with whom

¹ XV. 6, p. 478.

² 1067 A. D.

³ *χείρ*, which may also be translated 'band' or 'violence'.

⁴ XV. 10, p. 495. It is clear that *ἐκτοτε* refers vaguely to a remote past time, probably as early as the seventh century, when the barbarians began their inroads; it cannot refer like the *τότε* in the previous sentence to the ten years of chaos between Manzikert (1071) and Alexius' accession (1081), for the two Emperors mentioned both reigned before that period, John Tzimiskes 969-76, and Basil II 963-1025. Cf. *ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις* in III. 3, p. 77, where it is best translated 'in our times' or 'in these latter days'. As we see elsewhere Anna is apt to give a wide meaning to many words that in Classic Greek have a precise signification. It is curious that in this passage she never says that her father set things right again, though she doubtless implies it.

⁵ *Mous. Alex.* I, 282 sqq.

he had contended, Scythians, Italians and Persians, the rising in Crete and Cyprus, and the hostile attacks on Mitylene, Rhodes, and Chios.¹ He too makes us feel the horrors of the Crusading invasion with its *μυρίος στρατός*.² Whether truthful or not his picture and his daughter's agree together; to himself and to her he appeared emphatically a conquering hero.

Before we consider Alexius' military career in detail some preliminary points in connexion with the Byzantine army must be disposed of. The first are numbers and pay.

If Anna's figures are to be believed, armies in her day were often of considerable size, but the more we study them the more random and untrustworthy do these figures seem. Thus Robert Guiscard puts his 30,000 men on to 150 ships, and during the siege of Durazzo loses from famine and disease some 10,000 footmen and 500 mounted officers; the Pope and the German king lose in battle 'more than 30,000' from their two armies.³ Clearly such numbers are fantastically large. The rebel Bryennius has a right wing of 5,000 which we can well believe, but Godfrey de Bouillon has 10,000 horse and 70,000 foot, and the Crusading contingent that followed later has 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry, figures which certainly seem incredible.⁴ The Sultan sends Alexius 7,000 Turkish mercenaries,⁵ while the Manichaeans present at Durazzo only amount to 2,800, among whom there are 300 casualties.⁶ The combined Venetian and Greek fleets lose 13,000 drowned and many more captured at Corfu,⁷ and of Turkish soldiers 50,000 march out on one expedition and 80,000 heavy-armed on another.⁸ The emir Tzachas has a fleet at sea and an army of only 8,000 on land,⁹ yet is a most formidable foe. In the Patzinak and Coman campaigns the numbers are suspiciously high. The chief Tzelgu is said to put a 'mixed army of about 80,000' into the field; 30,000 auxiliaries are offered to Alexius if he will but make peace; at the Taurocomus ridge 'about 7,000' Comans fall and 3,000 are captured.¹⁰ It is even more obviously

¹ Cf. Anna's account in IX. 2; VII. 8; and XI. 5, p. 321.

² *Mous. Alex.* I, 330 sqq. Cf. *Al.* X. 5.

³ I. 13, p. 33; 16, p. 37; IV. 3, p. 108.

⁴ I. 5, p. 11; X. 9, p. 293; XI. 8, pp. 331.

⁵ V. 5, p. 137.

⁶ IV. 4, p. 109; V. 3, p. 131.

⁷ VI. 5, p. 161.

⁸ VI. 10, p. 171; XI. 3, p. 318. We may note that in XIV. 1, p. 421, the army of Asan is 24,000, but shortly afterwards the figures given are 50,000 in XIV. 4, p. 433, and 40,000 in XIV. 5, p. 439.

⁹ VII. 8, p. 206.

¹⁰ VII. 1, p. 188; 2, p. 192; X. 4, p. 280. Five thousand deserters, *αυτόμολοι*, come over to Alexius in VIII. 5, p. 231.

guess-work when Anna puts down enemies merely seen approaching as 36,000 or 40,000, or informs us that 6,000 Patzinaks were told off for plunder.¹ It is not surprising that such statistics given after so many years should inspire little confidence, but they seem so utterly absurd (bearing no relation to facts or probabilities as far as we can gauge them) that we wonder why Anna took the trouble to repeat or perhaps invent them at all. We can only suppose her influenced by an inherent belief that the larger the enemy's army, the more glorious the victory, so that it became a point of honour to exaggerate the numbers of Scythians or Turks.

One thing is certain. Throughout the book, from financial necessity armies whether large or small are frequently disbanded, especially at the approach of winter, and the collecting of them is a serious and costly matter.²

This brings us to what, as we have hinted before, was the great crux of the whole military situation—Alexius' perpetual difficulty in raising money to pay his troops.³ He had none in the treasury to begin with, and we wonder from what source he raised 'considerable sums' to send to the Venetian doge as early as 1081.⁴ His drafts on the property first of his family and then of the Church (a general levy being a thing he dared not attempt) met only with temporary success.⁵ Conquerors alone can effectively exact *φόρους*; ⁶ and without a hope of lawless plunder none of the ill-paid armies⁷ of the day could have been kept together. Communications between an army and the home treasury took so long that profitable bargains might be nullified by lack of funds.⁸ Demands for arrears or for higher pay might become so serious as to produce mutiny.⁹ There was no army of unpaid conscripts, and except in the case of certain

¹ VII. 3, p. 196; VIII. 1, p. 221; 4, p. 228.

² II. 3, p. 49; V. 1, p. 127; VI. 14, pp. 183, 185; VII. 11, p. 217; XII. 4, p. 356, etc.

³ Leo (*Tactica*, XIX. 17) says that if crews are not well supplied they will mutiny or else plunder their friends. Cf. Archidamus the Spartan, 'War is not an affair of arms, but of money' (Thuc. I. 83; VI. 34), and the similar sentiments of Cecaumenos, *λόγ. μουθ.*, p. 94.

⁴ III. 9, p. 91; IV. 2, p. 107; V. 1, p. 126. Further large sums to Venice are mentioned in VI. 5, p. 161, after a great naval victory.

⁵ V. 1 & 2; VI. 3.

⁶ IV. 3, p. 107. Robert Guiscard starts for his Illyrian campaign *τὴν χώραν* (of South Italy) *ἀργυρολογήσας ἅπασαν καὶ φορολογήσας* (I. 16, p. 38).

⁷ In theory they were paid annually (VI. 14, p. 183). But Bohemund's men had four years owing (V. 7, p. 143).

⁸ I. 2, pp. 5, 6.

⁹ V. 7, p. 143; cf. V. 2, p. 128. In the old Greek armies pay was deliberately kept back to render desertion (whereby it would be forfeited) less likely (Thuc. VIII. 45).

provincial landowners in Asia no sort of feudal tenure. It was a case for all, Greek and mercenaries alike, of 'being a slave for pay' (ἐπὶ μισθῷ δουλεῦσαι).¹ It is startling to a modern ear to hear of soldiers receiving money 'that they may fight courageously',² but as military service was then almost entirely a matter of sale and barter and personal inclination, it was perhaps better that the commercial aspect should have been thus clearly stated. The first step taken by the Crusaders is to sell their lands to pay for troops,³ and Bohemund, much hampered by poverty and consequent want of men, is peculiarly susceptible to the attraction of a stupendous bribe.⁴ War then, as now, was the most expensive luxury in which an empire could indulge.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

56. OFFICERS AND MEN

THE army has enormous importance in Alexius' history. As we have seen, it was the army that gave him the crown; its wishes counted far more than those of the civil population, and in the sack of Constantinople he can restrain the 'native' quite as little as he can the 'barbarian' forces.⁵ When Alexius has to justify himself in a purely ecclesiastical matter, or even to try a heretic, τὸ στρατιωτικόν is summoned no less than the Senate and the Church.⁶ At Anna's birth honours and gifts are bestowed on 'the leaders of the army'.⁷ These same leaders are frequently consulted, sometimes in positively humble terms, by the generals commanding them, even when the general is their Emperor.⁸ In an age when military usurpa-

¹ V. 7, p. 143. The term *θητεῖν* is used of the Normans who join Alexius' forces, pay being here not mentioned (VI. 1, p. 153). See p. 107, note 8, above. Butumites is advised by the Emperor to 'hire' (*μισθοδοῦναι*) the Crusading stragglers as a garrison for Nicaea (XI. 3, p. 317).

² XI. 11, p. 340. Leo (*Tactica*, XIX. 71) advises bestowing 'gifts and honours' on brave soldiers, but not till after the battle, when cowards are to be punished.

³ X. 5, p. 285.

⁴ X. 11, pp. 301, 303. On a later occasion he suggests that money only would get back Laodicea (XI. 11, p. 340).

⁵ II. 7, p. 57; 10, p. 65.

⁶ VI. 3, p. 155; XV. 8, p. 488.

⁷ VI. 8, p. 167.

⁸ IV. 5, p. 112; VII. 1, p. 189; VIII. 1, p. 221; 3, p. 227; X. 2, pp. 273, 274; 4, pp. 277, 281; 9, p. 295; XIV. 2, p. 424. Romanus Diogenes similarly consults 'the best of the generals' in Nic. Bry. I. 13, p. 26. Leo (*Tactica*, XIX. 36) says an admiral should consult his *ἀρχοντες* before battle.

tions were of common occurrence (as much so indeed as in the history of the kings of Israel), it is obvious that officers and especially popular ones required firm yet careful handling, none the less if they were of the imperial family. Alexius did his best to be in very truth Commander-in-Chief with sole authority, but the way in which he 'summons' one general after another, and gives them definite instructions on every point, serves to show that independent action on their part was to him a never-ending subject of uneasy fear.¹

Military officers are first mentioned by Anna just after Alexius' accession. We read: 'in the treasuries of the Palace there were no heaps of money stored up, with which he might engage allied troops from other countries.' So he calls to Constantinople the various commandants from Asia Minor (Dabatenus of Heraclea and Burtzes of Choma being specially mentioned), enjoining on them to leave just enough men behind to guard the towns, and to bring all the rest and 'as many fresh recruits as they could', to help in the Illyrian campaign.²

Here we must point out again at the risk of repetition, first that the highest commands were very apt to be given to members of the imperial family, secondly that pardoned rebels often occupied responsible military posts, and thirdly that while no officer was allowed to act on his own initiative but only under the Emperor's orders, the Emperor was no less bound by custom to consult his (so to speak) General Staff. The various titles of Great Domestic of the East or of the West,³ Great Drungary of the fleet,⁴ decurion,⁵ tagmatarch,⁶ dux of the fleet,⁷ *σπαθάριος*,⁸ thalassocrator,⁹ phalangarch or protostrator,¹⁰ toparch or topoteretes¹¹ need more careful investigation than

¹ Chalandon (*op. cit.* p. 280) considers that the strong hand which Alexius, a soldier-emperor following after two civilians, tried to keep on the army by acting as his own Commander-in-Chief and giving the best posts to his relations or henchmen, was the cause of the constant revolts among the officers mentioned by his daughter.

² III. 9, p. 91. Cf. III. 11, p. 96; V. 1, pp. 126, 127; VII. 7, p. 204.

³ I. 4, p. 9; II. 4, p. 50; IV. 4, p. 108, and 6, p. 115; VI. 4, p. 157; VII. 1, p. 189; 2, p. 191; cf. Nic. Bry. I. 3, p. 18. Chalandon believes that the official headquarters of this officer were at Adrianople. In the ninth century there had been seven military commands called Domesticates (Bury, *Imp. admin. system*, ch. C. II).

⁴ III. 4, p. 78; VI. 11, p. 174; X. 4, p. 279; XIII. 1, p. 376.

⁵ III. 11, p. 95.

⁶ XI. 5, p. 322.

⁷ VII. 8, p. 206; 9, p. 209; IX. 1, p. 246; X. 7, p. 288; 8, p. 290; XI. 10, p. 335.

⁸ II. 11, p. 64.

⁹ IX. 1, p. 247; 3, p. 250; XI. 5, p. 322. As we have said, military and naval commands are throughout interchangeable (e.g. Cantacuzenus in X. 2, XI. 9 and 11, XIII. 5 and 6).

¹⁰ V. 7; VII. 3, p. 196.

¹¹ III. 9, p. 92.

space permits. At any rate Anna uses them consistently and with apparent accuracy, though she likes to vary her terms by synonyms.¹ She is of course fully alive, and makes her readers so, to the monstrous impertinence of Bohemund in asking to become Domestic of the East,² yet we find Taticius the son of a Saracen captive, a man therefore 'not of free condition', holding the post of Great Primicerius, and commanding a special body of mercenaries, the Bardariote Turks.³ We also have a Scythian ('very wise and practising virtue and truth') as Grand Hetaeriarch over the foreign Palace Guards, and Du Cange believes that one title, that of *ἐξουσιοκράτωρ*, was distinctive of the officer commanding the Alan auxiliary troops.⁴ Indeed of Alexius' officers surprisingly many are foreign by birth. The 'Celts' Urselius, Umbertopulus, Peter Aluph, and Roger,⁵ the Armenians Ariebe, Philaretus, and Aspietes,⁶ the Turk Camyres, the Sarmatian Uzas with his son, and the Scythian or Sarmatian Caratzes⁷ play important parts in the imperial army. The Turkish generals Elchanes and Scaliarius fight and die for the Empire,⁸ and the 'most warlike' Monastras, 'dear to Ares' and praised as having 'much experience in military matters', is a half-breed.⁹

If the officers are partly of foreign extraction, the troops are

¹ *στρατοπεδάρχης* and *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* seem to be loosely equivalent (I. 1, p. 4; 2, p. 5; II. 1, p. 43; IX. 2, p. 250; XI. 1, p. 311; XII. 2, p. 350). In XIII. 2, p. 379, it is hard to distinguish between *λοχαγοί*, *ἀρχηγοί* and *συνταγματάρχαι*. The commandant of a fortress is indifferently *δοῦξ*, *ἡγεμὼν*, *στρατηγός*, *τοπάρχης*, *τοποτηρητής*, or *κουράτωρ* (III. 9, p. 92; VII. 8, p. 205; XI. 5, pp. 323, 324).

² X. 11, p. 304.

³ IV. 4, p. 109 (and see Du Cange's note). He was 'of the same age as' and had been 'brought up with' Alexius (Nic. Bry. IV. 20, p. 99); XI. 3, p. 317.

⁴ VIII. 7, p. 237; cf. I. 5, p. 11; XIII. 6, p. 393. The name *ἐταιρεία* was given to the soldiers (largely foreign) in personal attendance on the Emperor, and bound to protect him against plots (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 106). They are mentioned as fighting at Manzikert under the traitor Andronicus Ducas (Nic. Bry. I. 16, p. 29). The excubitors, originally also Palace Guards and one of the four *τάγματα* guarding the capital (Bury, *op. cit.*), are described by Anna as going out on active service with their commander (IV. 4, p. 109).

⁵ I. 1, p. 3; II. 4, p. 50; IV. 4, p. 109; 6, p. 117; V. 5, p. 136; 7, p. 143; VI. 14, p. 183; VIII. 7, p. 236; X. 2, p. 273; XI. 6, p. 324; XIII. 4, p. 387; 9, pp. 400, 402; 12, p. 416.

⁶ V. 5, p. 136; VI. 9, p. 168; VIII. 7, p. 236. There is a long article by J. Laurent in the *Mélanges Schlumberger* (vol. I, pp. 159-68) as to the identification of Anna's Aspietes (IV. 6, p. 117, and XII. 2) with the Oschin of Matthew of Edessa and the Ursinus of Albert of Aix. Laurent believes there were two Armenian princes called Aspietes.

⁷ V. 5, p. 137; 7, p. 142; VII. 3, p. 195; 9, p. 213; 10, p. 214; VIII. 5, p. 232; 7, p. 237; X. 4, pp. 279, 281; XV. 6, p. 476.

⁸ VI. 13, p. 181; X. 2, p. 274 (where it is tempting to insert *καὶ* before *τοῦ Ἐλχάν*, so as to bring in the two men); XIII. 5, p. 390.

⁹ VII. 9, p. 213; 10, p. 314; VIII. 5, p. 232; X. 2, p. 274; 4, p. 281; XI. 2, p. 314; 9, p. 334; 11, pp. 339, 340; XII. 2, p. 348; XIV. 3, p. 429; 5, p. 441.

predominantly so. Oman¹ says: 'After Manzikert we find foreign mercenaries always forming both a larger and a more important part of the Imperial host than in the flourishing days of the Macedonian dynasty. Franks, Lombards, Russians, Patzinaks, Turks were enlisted in permanent corps, or hired from their princes as temporary auxiliaries. It is no longer the old Byzantine army which we find serving under Alexius Comnenus and his successors, but a mass of barbarian adventurers, such as the army of Justinian had been 500 years before.' Later on he gives a reason for this:² 'The Comneni were centralizers, and preferred to manage affairs from head-quarters rather than to trust their forces to the strategi of the themes. They preferred to raise bodies of troops for general service rather than to localize the corps. A dangerous proportion of the army was for the future composed of foreign mercenaries.'³ Furthermore the Comneni 'found native troops hard to raise, now that the old Asiatic recruiting ground was gone', and had also learned 'a great respect for Western valour', so that 'they enlisted as many Western mercenaries as they could get together'. Finally 'to supplement the Western spear [they] called in the Eastern bow', so that 'thousands of horse-archers hired from the nomad tribes' (Turks, Patzinaks, and Comans) 'rode in their hosts', till 'the native corps began to take quite a secondary place'. The old hatred of mercenaries displayed by Polybius throughout his work, and in a more modified form by Thucydides,⁴ had entirely disappeared, and as we have already seen one of Anna's grievances against her father's spendthrift predecessors is that they had left him no money for engaging assistance of this kind,⁵ what she once calls 'horsemen and footmen coming out of all lands'.⁶

Yet mercenaries can never be wholly trusted. The Franks in Alexius' army go over to Bryennius in the middle of the battle, and the Nemitzi (Germans) in Constantinople betray the city to their master's enemy.⁷ Dalmatian allies watch the course of

¹ *Art of War*, I, p. 223. The system of substituting money payments for personal service or the provision of local militia had been started by Nicephorus II Phocas (963-9), and carried to its extreme under Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-55). See Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, p. 50, note 4.

² *Op. cit.* I. p. 227.

³ See F. Dölger's review in *B. Z.* XXVI, pp. 102-13 of a new book by P. Mutaviev (Sofia, 1923) dealing with *στρατιῶται* as opposed to 'Söldner' and discussing 'Soldatengüter', *πρόνοια* or *οἰκονομία*, and the like.

⁴ *Hist.* VII. 48.

⁵ At the same time she realizes that heterogeneous *δυνάμεις ἐκ διαφόρων ξενικῶν τε καὶ ἐγχωρίων* are less reliable (II. 9, p. 61) and less easy to control (II. 10, p. 64; III. 2, p. 73. See following paragraph.

⁶ VIII. 3, p. 227.

⁷ I. 6, p. 14; II. 9 and 10.

events at Durazzo and go home without fighting.¹ Even the 'warlike' Manichaeans, descendants of Armenian captives settled in Thrace, leave the colours after a defeat and cannot be bribed to return; later on they join the Patzinaks against the Empire.² On the whole the 'godless' Turks are the most staunch of the hirelings.³ On one occasion we hear of 500 invaluable horsemen from Flanders, and we find Bulgarians, Vlachs, Alans, and 'Sarmatians skilled in archery' who justify the trust reposed in them; Alexius again is eager for 'mercenary troops from Rome'.⁴ Scythians are fatally given to plunder and to deserting,⁵ good fighters though they are. The Venetian sailors as a body remain loyal to the Greek side, but Pietro Contarini goes over to Robert.⁶ The distrust which all three armies, Patzinaks, Greeks, and Comans, feel of each other is entirely justified by the intrigue and deceit and treachery that marks the whole Patzinak campaign; at one point 5,000 mountaineers come over to Alexius, and at no point does any one believe any one else's word.⁷ The Comans play the same sinister part in the rebellion of the pseudo-Diogenes.⁸ Always the hired allies of to-day, often obtained after immense trouble and delay, might be the enemies of to-morrow.⁹

Let us see what else besides casual mercenaries an emperor had to rely on. When Alexius as the general of Botaniates went against Bryennius, the West, with its 'Macedonian and Thracian regiments', its 'cavalry of the theme of Thessaly', and 'the veteran remnants of the old army of Italy, which had long served under Maniaces',¹⁰ had gone over to the rebel; so to the loyalist side was left only 'quite a scanty army', i.e. 'Immortals who had very recently (*χθές καὶ πρόην*) taken up sword and spear, and a few soldiers from Choma, and a Celtic force amounting to but few'. The Emperor's officials summon allies (a euphemistic word for 'mercenaries' throughout the book) from the Turks, but Alexius does not await their arrival.¹¹

¹ IV. 6.

² V. 3, p. 131; VI. 2 and 4.

³ I. 4, p. 10; 6, *passim*; II. 6, p. 56; IV. 2, p. 105; V. 5, p. 137; 7, p. 142; VIII. 3, p. 226; X. 4, p. 280; XI. 2, p. 316.

⁴ V. 7, p. 142; VII. 6 and 7; VIII. 3, p. 227; 5, p. 230; XIII. 6.

⁵ I. 5; VII. 2, p. 192; VIII. 5, p. 231; XV. 4, p. 470; 6, p. 476.

⁶ VI. 5, pp. 160, 161.

⁷ Books VII and VIII.

⁸ X. 4, p. 281.

⁹ V. 1, p. 125; 2, p. 128; 3, p. 132; 7, p. 143; VI. 1, pp. 153, 154; 9, p. 170; VIII. 3, p. 226; XI. 2, p. 316; XII. 4, p. 356. Cf. Thuc. VII. 13; VIII. 28.

¹⁰ Oman, *op. cit.* I. p. 224, where 'John' Maniaces should be 'George'; cf. Oman, *Byz. Emp.*, p. 246.

¹¹ I. 4. Bryennius however says Alexius set out *σχών μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ξυμμάχους Τούρκους* (*Hyle*, IV. 4, p. 90).

This corps of Immortals is later described by Anna as 'the most distinctive (*ἰδιαίτατον*) among the Greek forces',¹ and its creation is fully narrated by her husband.² He says, 'I ought to explain who these Immortals are. The Emperor Michael [VII], or to say truth the eunuch Nicephorus the logothete, seeing that the army of the East had all become subject to the Turks and was now at an end, took pains to form a new (*νεόλεκτον*) army as best he could, and collecting some of the soldiers from Asia who had been scattered and were serving for pay, he put cuirasses on them and gave them large oblong shields,³ and helmets to wear and spears.' They receive careful training from a specially chosen commander, who 'as soon as they could ride with safety and bear arms competently', tests them by strenuous sham-fights at a gallop, giving to the best the rank of officers and also the name of Immortals, which was subsequently attached to the whole corps.⁴ The story is thus recounted by Oman:⁵ 'So wholly had the army of the East been cut off' (through the ravaging of the Asiatic themes, 'the great recruiting ground of the Imperial army', by the Turks since Manzikert)⁶ 'that in 1078 Michael Ducas, by collecting all the scattered and disbanded survivors of the old corps from the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and supplementing them with recruits, only obtained a division of ten thousand horse, the so-called Immortals, with whom the future Emperor Alexius Comnenus made his first great campaign.' The Immortals therefore were born subjects of the Empire; so were the few soldiers from Choma, which has been clearly proved to have been a district not far from the Phrygian Laodicea ad Lycum.⁷

¹ II. 9, p. 62. Du Cange, in his note on I. 4, p. 10 A, seems to take *ἰδιαίτατον* as 'most permanent'.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *θυρεός* = scutum, as opposed to *ἀσπίς*, the round shield.

⁴ Neither he nor Anna mentions the fact that the name came from the famous Persian horsemen known as 'Immortals' (Oman, *Art of War*, I, p. 28). Du Cange, in his note on I. 4, p. 10 A refers to Procopius, *De bello Persico*, I. He himself explains the name 'quod pacis aequae ac belli tempore militarent'.

⁵ *Op. cit.* I, p. 223.

⁶ Oman (*op. cit.* I, p. 222) points out that 'Thirty years after Manzikert when the armies of the Crusaders marched from Nicaea to Tarsus, right across the ancient heart of the Empire, they nearly perished of starvation in a land of briers and ruins'.

⁷ Note on III. 9, p. 92 B, and see XI. 5, p. 324. Du Cange ridicules the interpretation of *χωμα* = earth, mound, making 'soldiers from Choma' = native-born, indigenous. But his suggestion that Choma was the ancient Lycia seems hardly less fantastic. Ramsay (*Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 136) and the map of Asia Minor (ed. J. G. C. Anderson in Murray's *Handy Classical Maps*) identify the modern village of Homa or Khoma ('which retains the Byzantine or Turco-Byzantine name') with Siblia, a little North of the river Macander and about twenty miles North-West from Apamea. It must not be confused with Chonae: Nic. Acom. mentions both as distinct places (*Man. C.* VI. 1, p. 115).

Alexius therefore had two contingents of Greek soldiers, the Immortals and the Chomatenes, and one of 'Celtic' (i.e. Norman) mercenaries, doubtless the remainder of the army with which the defeated Urselius had once encountered him.¹ (Soldiers, as we have said before, were seldom loath to change sides.²) In the battle of Calau³ against Bryennius, Alexius himself retains the 'so-called Immortals and some of the Celts', while Catacalo⁴ commands 'the Chomatenes and Turks'. The said Chomatenes are routed by a body of 'Scythians', Alexius with the Immortals is driven off the field, the 'Franks' surrender to Bryennius,⁵ and the day is only saved by the arrival of fresh Turkish aid for Alexius, who thereupon returns to the fight. The Immortals seem on this occasion to have shown the bad effects of their hasty training, though one of them performs an act of great if futile daring by seeking Bryennius in single combat.⁶ When we next meet them they are guarding Constantinople for the Emperor Botaniates, to whom as fellow-countrymen or fellow-Greeks (*ἀντόχθονες*) their faith and loyalty are irrevocably pledged.⁷ Alexius is advised not to attempt the task of seducing either them or the 'Varangians from Thule' . . . because 'those axe-bearing barbarians' (further depicted as 'dangling their swords from their shoulders') having received 'in succession the one from the other as a paternal tradition, and as it were a trust and inheritance, fidelity to the emperors and the guardianship of their persons, preserve their fidelity to him unshaken, and will not endure so much as a mere word about betrayal'. We will return to the Varangian guard presently. Here they with the Immortals exemplify the only motives that were thought sufficient to keep troops loyal

¹ I. 1-3.

² I. 5, p. 12.

³ So VI. 1; IX. 2, p. 250, &c.

⁴ Not otherwise described. There was in the same battle a Tarchionites Catacalo serving under Bryennius (I. 5, p. 11). Oman describes these Chomatenes as 'garrison troops' and the Turkish mercenaries as 'all horse-archers'.

⁵ 'Dismounting and giving him their right hands, as is their ancestral way of swearing fealty' (*τὰς πῖστες δίδόναι*) (I. 6, p. 14).

⁶ I. 5, p. 11.

⁷ II. 9, p. 62; cf. II. 10, p. 64. It is hardly necessary to make the reminder that to be autochthonous was the proudest boast of the Athenians (Thuc. I. 28; II. 36). Similarly Anna throughout uses *Πωμαῖοι* with a ring of pride. We may note that both she and her husband pass by in silence the far less favourable opinion held of the Immortals by others. Thus Attaliates (306) says that when the Emperor Botaniates wished to set the East in order, and the Greek troops from Constantinople did not wish to go beyond Nicaea, 'he summoned also other soldiers whom they called Immortals, being not easy to count in number and well trained in the bow, and supposed to possess the other arts of war through experience, by reason of continual practice; and as they were enslaved by disorder and disloyalty the Emperor was zealous to make them stronger and stauncher by friendly words and exhortation and even more by the kindness of gifts'.

—affection as of fellow-countrymen,¹ and a sense of ancestral pride. The Immortals play no further part in the history, but when Botaniates is at the very end of his tether, his slave Borilus wishes to make a stand against the incoming Comneni with 'those who dangle their swords over their shoulders' (i.e. the Varangians) 'and as many as sprang from Choma'.² It is this last band from which Alexius fears a counter-revolution.³ Again, in the enumeration of the troops ready at hand in 1081 for use against Robert Guiscard we have the familiar combination of names. We are told that Alexius 'was grieved and distressed because the empire of the Greeks had no adequate army; for there were not more than 300 soldiers, and these were from Choma, all feeble and inexperienced in war, and a small number of foreign barbarians, the kind accustomed to dangle their sword from their right shoulder'. After this the men of Choma only come in once more, as supplying decarchs for the army.⁴ So we can now devote our attention to the Varangian Guard.

Riant⁵ tells us that as a result of the many attacks on Constantinople between 860 and 971 by 'les princes scandinaves de Russie', the emperors started a Varangian Guard to imitate the Scandinavian *hird*. It is certain that Byzantine chroniclers first speak of *Βάραγγοι* under Romanus III (Argyrus), 1020–34,⁶ and Riant believes the Guard to have been at the beginning 'uniquement composée de Scandinaves'.⁷ But after 1066 Eng-

¹ As a matter of fact, some Immortals revolted in Cyprus with Rhapsomates (IX. 2, p. 250) against Alexius when Emperor, but if their leader was equally Greek and *αὐτόχθων* they may have felt justified.

² II. 12, p. 67.

³ III. 1, p. 71.

⁴ III. 9, p. 91; II, p. 95

⁵ *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves*, p. 97.

⁶ Cedrenus (p. 735 c) speaks of τῶν εἰς παραχειμασίαν διασπαρμένων Βαράγγων on the accession of Michael IV who succeeded Romanus III. In p. 787 A they appear coupled with the Franks, and in p. 792 D the writer has this sentence: οἱ φυλάσσοντες ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Βάραγγοι (γένος δὲ Κελτικὸν οἱ Βάραγγοι μισθοφοροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοις).

⁷ Bury (note on Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI, p. 155) endorses this, saying that the Chronicle of Nest speaks of the Baltic as the Sea of the Variagi, and that in the λόγ. νουθ. of Cecaumenus (p. 97) Harold Haardrade is called 'son of the king of Varangia', i.e. Norway. He adds: 'The formation of the Varangian Guard at Constantinople and the inclusion in it of other Teutons (Danes, English, &c.) led to an extension of the meaning of Varangian from its original limitation to Norwegians or Scandinavians.' Gibbon (*op. cit.* vol. VI, p. 412) says of the Greeks in Constantinople at the time of the Latin Siege 'the firmest hope was in the strength and spirit of the Varangian Guard'. Villehardouin calls them 'Englois et Danois avec leurs haches'. They may have been the special 'ethnic' or 'barbarian' guards of Attaliates (p. 294) who while living in the Palace get drunk and revolt against Botaniates. They are forgiven, but some are sent to garrison distant forts. Anna speaks vaguely in XII. 6, p. 361, of 'those to whom is entrusted the guarding of the Palace' (who on this occasion lead away convicted conspirators). In XIV. 3, p. 432, she distinguishes the 'axe-bearing barbarians' from 'the soldiers collected of every language', though the two corps combine to

lish exiles went to offer the crown of their native land to the King of Denmark, and when it was refused they proceeded onwards to Constantinople. They built and garrisoned for Alexius Cibotus on the Asiatic side, and were subsequently merged by the Emperor in 'l'ancienne garde',¹ which had also been swelled by Norman nobles from England and France who had quarrelled with their kings, as well as adventurers from Apulia and Sicily. The services of Harold Haardrade to the Empire, mentioned only by Cecaumenus,² are not said to have affected the Varangian Guard in any way, but it is interesting to find from the *Knytlinga Saga* how large a part the Guard played during the visits to the capital of Eric the Good and Sigurd I. Eric in 1102 was on his way to the Holy Land, so Alexius feared he might lead his countrymen away to go with him, and therefore only allowed them to visit the Norwegian king in small bands till he himself was reassured by Eric's behaviour.³ But in 1110 Sigurd was returning from Palestine, so he was not a formidable magnet; indeed he ended by leaving some of his men behind to 'grossir la garde vœringue',⁴ and taking relics home instead. On the other hand Saxo says that some of the Varangian guard entered Bohemund's service before the second siege of Durazzo; these are probably Anna's 'men in the Greek service from the island of Thule' who had gone over to the Norman prince and came with him to Aulon. They may have returned to the Emperor the

form a guard of honour round the Emperor. So also in the scene in IX. 9, p. 263, where the Varangians are *par excellence* 'those appointed of old guardians of the imperial person'. Other terms for guards in the *Alexias* are ἐξκούβιτοι (IV. 4, p. 109), βεστιάριται (*ibid.*; see p. 277, note 7, above), and ἐταπρία (I. 5, p. 11; VIII. 7, p. 237), but Anna does not differentiate their functions. A special body-guard of six, two of them sons of the former Emperor Romanus Diogenes, are chosen by Alexius at the front in VII. 3, p. 195.

¹ Some English names have been found in epitaphs of members of the Varangian Guard. In a note of Gibbon's (*op. cit.* Vol. VI, p. 89) he quotes from Codinus, p. 90, Βάραγγοι κατὰ τὴν πατρίαν γλώσσαν . . . ἤθουν Ἰγλωισι πολυχρονίζουσι ('wish a long life'). Ord. Vit. (Pt. III, lib. 7, ch. 4, P. L. 188, col. 519) says Alexius received refugee 'Angli' who came by sea after Harold's death 'and commended to them publicly the principal palace and the royal treasures; nay he made them guardians of his own life and of his possessions'. Cinnamus (I. 3, p. 4) says that the 'axe-bearers' are ἔθνος Βρεταννικόν.

² λόγ. νοῦθ. p. 97. He was at Constantinople 1043-4 after helping Geo. Maniaces (still loyal) in Sicily in 1038 (Bury's note on Gibbon, *op. cit.* Vol. VI, p. 184).

³ The Saga represents Eric as haranguing the Varangians in order to impress on them their privileges in guarding the Emperor, and their duties of loyalty, sobriety, and courage (Riant, *op. cit.* pp. 159 sqq.). He was rewarded by money and relics, and a lodging in the Blachernae Palace.

⁴ As well as sixty warships, still displayed at Constantinople forty years later. Anna mentions none of the three visitors Harold, Eric, or Sigurd. Possibly Eric is one of the 'kings' said by her to have gone on the First Crusade (X. 10, p. 299).

spring after the Treaty, when the rest of the Norman army was disbanded.¹ Turning to another estimate of the Varangians,² we find that Zonaras does not give them a very glowing testimonial for faithfulness. He represents them as revolting against Botaniates after the blinding of Bryennius, 'planning to kill him', but being put down and glad enough to beg and receive pardon.³ They also seem easily gulled by John Comnenus into a premature belief in his father's death, though here they do make an effort to guard the Palace as is their duty.⁴ Anna's specific references to this Guard, except for her one eulogy on their loyalty,⁵ deal almost entirely with their peculiar arms. They are axe-bearers (*πελεκυφόροι*), and they have two-edged swords 'upon their shoulders'.⁶ Now as these axes were not the missile Frankish kind, but heavy and two-handed such as the Danes introduced into England,⁷ it is clear that if they wielded these they could not at the same time 'brandish' a sword, giving the ordinary meaning to the word *κραδαίνειν* always used of these men, but must have 'dangled' it from their shoulder on a bandolier.⁸ Their appearance should excite awe,⁹ and their bravery in battle is undoubted even if marred by 'inexperience and heat'.¹⁰ Their honourable career ended with the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204.

As to the arms of other troops we find a monotonous recurrence of the same terms, helmets (once in dire military straits replaced by silk caps), shields (which may be fourfold), swords,

¹ XII. 9, p. 370; XIV. 1, p. 419.

² See note above referring to Attal., p. 294.

³ *Epit.* XVIII. 19, a great contrast to *Al.* II. 9, p. 62.

⁴ *Epit.* XVIII. 29.

⁵ II. 9, p. 62. This eulogy is belied by XII. 9, p. 370, if Bohemund's 'men from Thule' were the Varangians.

⁶ II. 12, p. 67; III. 9, p. 91; IV. 6, pp. 115, 116; IX. 9, p. 263; XII. 6, p. 361; XIV. 4, p. 432. The term 'captain of the Varangians' occurs in IV. 6, p. 115; cf. VII. 3, p. 195. Oman says that at Durazzo the Varangians 'rode to the battle spot like the thegns of the West', but then dismounted and marched forward shoulder to shoulder (*op. cit.* I. 166). On this occasion they carried shields (IV. 6, p. 115). Nic. Bry. mentions the curious equipment of 'the guards about the court from the barbarous land near the Ocean' (*Hyle*, I. 20, p. 32), and dwells on their time-honoured privilege of guarding the palace (*ibid.* II. 14, p. 52, and III. 5, p. 71). Albert of Aix (IV, ch. 40, *P. L.* 166, col. 503) speaks of 'Danai' [Danes] 'bipennium armatura dimicare peritissimi' in Alexius' army when he goes to Philomelium. The same writer says the Alemanni with Peter the Hermit (whom Anna calls *Νορμάννοι*: X. 6) had double axes (I. ch. 18, *loc. cit.* col. 401).

⁷ Oman, *op. cit.* I. 115.

⁸ I am indebted to Prof. Oman for this explanation. It would appear that they knocked down an enemy with the axe and dispatched him with the sword. *κραδαίνειν* of a spear may be translated 'wield', always with a sense of motion (XIII. 2, p. 379; XV. 3, p. 468).

⁹ XIV. 3, p. 432.

¹⁰ IV. 6, pp. 115, 116.

daggers, cuirasses (sometimes a scale corslet), greaves, lances, bows and arrows.¹ The swords were sharp and powerful enough to cut off an enemy's hand or even head,² spears set in rest by horsemen could pierce through chest and spine, and arrows could cause terrible wounds.³

Defensive armour is what is mainly implied in the word *πανοπλία* (though in classical Greek it included sword and lance), and a fully armed man is *κατάφρακτος*.⁴ We constantly hear of generals arming themselves and their followers 'excellently'.⁵ The sight of shining equipment may paralyse a barbarous Scythian host, and the envoys of the vainglorious Hugh of France, hoping to impress the Greeks, are 'clothed in golden armour, greaves and all'.⁶ Yet its weight may be a severe handicap, especially to a Norman soldier when dismounted; his huge shield and peaked boots are fatal hindrances to rapid movement.⁷ For this reason it was expedient to shoot at the Norman horses rather than at their riders. Alexius in the campaign of 1108 against Bohemund gives this as a definite order to his generals,

'knowing that as far as their cuirasses and iron coats went they were hard to wound or rather altogether invulnerable . . . For the Celtic armour (*ὄπλον*) is an iron coat, ring wound round ring, and the material of good iron, so as to turn off even a considerable dart . . . And as an addition to their defence there is a shield, not round but oblong, beginning very broad and ending in a sharp point. It is slightly hollowed, in outward appearance smooth and shining and sparkling, with a bronze knob. Therefore any dart, whether Scythian or Persian or launched by arms of giants, would be beaten off, and would bound back to the sender.'

On this account it is futile to shoot at the men, but if their

¹ I. 11, pp. 25, 26; II. 10, p. 64; IV. 6, p. 117; VII. 3, p. 197; VIII. 5, p. 232; X. 7, p. 288; 8, pp. 291, 292; 9, pp. 295, 297. The *θυρεός* (long shield) of X. 9, p. 297, occurs again in XII. 3, p. 353 in a figurative sense of Irene's virtues, coupled with *ἀσπίς* (buckler).

² I. 6, pp. 14, 15; 8, p. 20; IV. 6, p. 117; VII. 9, p. 211; XII. 2, p. 350. In IX. 9, p. 263, we read of 'heavy iron broadswords'.

³ IV. 4, p. 110; XII. 2, p. 350.

⁴ XIII. 5, p. 390; 6, p. 394; XIV. 6, p. 442; XV. 6, p. 478.

⁵ *καλῶς* or *καρτερῶς*, I. 4, p. 10; V. 5, p. 138; VII. 2, p. 189; VIII. 5, p. 232; IX. 1, p. 247; XI. 7, p. 329; 8, p. 331. Alexius is *σιδηροφορήσας* in VII. 11, p. 217. Yet to receive the Crusaders he scorns armour and wears only imperial robes (X. 9, p. 295). The 'colour' of a Greek general's *ἀμφίων* may refer either to gilt (or coloured) armour or to the wearer's cloak, surtout, &c. (X. 8, p. 293). On one occasion Alexius has to substitute silk 'cloaks and caps' for armour 'since he had not sufficient iron for every one' (VIII. 5, p. 232).

⁶ VI. 14, p. 184; X. 7, p. 288; cf. XIII. 2, p. 379; XV. 6, p. 478. So Nic. Bry. (II. 27, p. 63) describes the Turks fleeing before the *ἀστραπή* of Greek weapons. See also *Al.* I. 8, p. 20.

⁷ V. 6, pp. 140, 141; XI. 6, p. 325.

horses are wounded they may throw their riders, and 'a Celtic man on horseback is irresistible and could even break through a Babylonian wall, but when he gets off his horse he becomes the sport of all that will'.¹

One other piece of Frankish equipment is the tzangra or crossbow which Anna describes in a very clear and intelligible way. She calls it 'a barbaric bow and wholly unknown to Hellenes', and considers its effect 'truly δαιμόνιον'. But we should never guess from her text what is abundantly evident from Du Cange's note, that in her day it was thought to be a despicable mode of fighting, 'viro strenuo indignum', and fit to be classed with the use of poisoned weapons.²

MILITARY AFFAIRS

57. ALEXIUS AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

WE have now dealt with the officers and men of the Byzantine army, and come at last naturally to its head.

On the personal characteristics of Alexius Comnenus as a general, his courage, prudence, cleverness, and devotion to his men, we have already touched. A few words will suffice as to the other features of his military career. He began this as subordinate to his brother Isaac, whom Anna once describes as 'entrusted with all the forces of the Eastern and Western commands',³ but whom Chalandon believes to have been Domestic of the Schools for the East only. Then by two successive emperors, Michael Ducas and Nicephorus Botaniates, Alexius is made στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (also called stratopedarch)⁴ and Domestic of the Schools (also described as 'Great Domestic of the Western and Eastern armies', though as a matter of fact Nicephorus Melissenus seems to have been all-powerful in the

¹ XIII. 8, pp. 397, 398. The *Encycl. Brit.* (art. 'Heraldry') uses Anna's words 'smooth and shining' (λείος καὶ στίλβων) in support of the statement that armorial bearings on shields were unknown in the eleventh century. This seems a somewhat arbitrary deduction from these two adjectives. We must not forget that hundreds of years before this the Carians had given the Hellenes crests on helmets and devices on shields. (Herod. I. 171.)

² X. 8, p. 291. Du Cange quotes Joinville as praising certain 'beaux faiz d'armes' on the ground that 'nul ne tiroit d'arc, d'arbaleste, ne d'artillerie'. Prof. Grégoire has pointed out (*Byzantion*, Tome III, 1926, pp. 311-17) that tzangra is undoubtedly a Byzantine corruption of *cancer*, which (because of the shape) was the name for a crossbow in Low Latin.

³ I. 1, p. 4. Also Duke of Antioch (II. 1, p. 43).

⁴ I. 1, p. 4; II. 1, p. 43.

East).¹ After overcoming three enemies, Urselius, Bryennius, and Basilacius, he is made Sebastos and 'honoured with the dignity of proedros'. Relying on the support of his soldiers he enters Constantinople by craft and deposes Botaniates. No military skill is needed for this, and when shortly afterwards we hear that he 'chased [the Turks] out of the borders around Bithynia and all Thynia, and out of those of Nicomedia',² the credit belongs to his troops, those troops of whom Anna speaks so contemptuously, rather than to the Emperor who gave orders from his capital. However from this moment onward, first with Robert Guiscard, then with Bohemund, and repeatedly with the Turks, there is almost incessant fighting, in which he often took a personal part during the forty-seven years of his reign. And always in every campaign he was his own Commander-in-Chief, appointing and removing generals and commandants,³ arming and training recruits whose military exercises he even shared when advanced in years.⁴ Again and again in war Alexius goes on horseback along the ranks encouraging the troops,⁵ and on two occasions at least his personal bravery caused him to be actually wounded.⁶ Anna impresses on us that even when he might seem to be 'a spectator' in a campaign, he was in truth at the side of the fighters with his whole heart and soul, and shared with them in the same sweat and toil'.⁷ Besides having to conduct affairs both military and diplomatic from a distance, and to supply stimulation and good counsel about every action, every siege, every plan of operations,⁸ we find him personally studying the ground, designing siege-

¹ I. 4, p. 9; II. 1, p. 43, and 8, p. 59; VI. 4, p. 157; VII. 2, p. 191. His grandfather Manuel had held supreme command in the East, XI. 1, p. 311.

² III. 11, p. 96.

³ XIII. 7, and throughout the history.

⁴ e.g. V. 3, p. 130; VII. 10, p. 214; XII. 1, p. 348; 4, p. 355; XIII. 2, p. 379; XV. 3, p. 468, &c. He keeps his forces supplied with arrows and furnishes siege engines (XI. 2, p. 312; XIII. 8, p. 397).

⁵ Even in his last campaign (XV. 3, p. 468).

⁶ IV. 6, p. 117; VII. 9, p. 212. We may compare Thuc. V. 9, where the Spartan general Brasidas boasts 'I will show you that I can not only advise others but fight myself'. It is interesting to note that Anna says her father received his head wound at Durazzo (IV. 6, p. 117); Alexius himself (*Mous. Alex.* II. 80, 81) speaks of his *κράνος τραβέν* at Phthia, south of Larissa, to which his daughter does not represent him as ever going. Other important generals killed or wounded or captured through their own daring are the Emperor's brother Isaac Comnenus (III. 3, p. 78), the Grand Domestic Pacurianus (VI. 14, p. 183), George Palaeologus (IV. 4, p. 110), Eustathius Camytzes (XIV. 5 and 6), and Alyates (XIII. 5, p. 391).

⁷ XIII. 8, p. 398; cf. IX. 4, p. 251. For his attention to detail as a commander cf. VIII. 1 and 3; XI. 2, p. 312; 10, p. 335, and above all his *New Parataxis*.

⁸ III. 9, p. 92; IV. 1, p. 103; XI. 2, p. 312; XIII. 4, p. 386; 5, pp. 389, 391; 7, pp. 395, 396; 8, pp. 397, 398; XIV. 2, 3, and 5; XV. 3, p. 369.

engines, drawing maps, superintending fortifications even in intense heat and acting as his own paymaster, in short keeping up the closest personal contact with his officers and his men.¹ As in the very beginning the way he had braved all dangers with his soldiers was a strong argument for their choosing him as Emperor,² so to the very end he fought whether in body or in spirit with his men. Once when the season of year and his own ill-health kept him from actual warfare, he remained in hastily improvised winter quarters 'in order to encourage them all'; when he cannot ride into battle, he drives in the midst of his troops and cheers them by smiles.³

Great stress is laid by Anna on the outward signs of royalty on a campaign. The tent of the commander formed a sort of sacred centre to the army, and all the more so if he was the Emperor.⁴ To keep the general's tent⁵ standing is the supreme effort of an army resisting an overwhelming attack,⁶ and when Alexius' tent was upset in the Patzinak campaign 'it seemed a bad omen to those who were not loyally disposed towards the Emperor'.⁷ Zonaras⁸ tells us that Romanus Argyrus as Emperor had a tent 'full of all sorts of wealth and imperial magnificence', and Alexius seems to have taken on a campaign not only a tent which proved large enough to hold all the malcontents who had conspired with Diogenes as well as the Emperor's loyal adherents, but also a gilded throne, on which in Anna's phrase *φοβερὸς προῦκάθητο*.⁹ The tent as we have seen was accessible to all, but one sign of sovereignty, the *βασιλικὴ σημαία* *par excellence*, is most jealously guarded; the standard with its concomitant of silver-studded staves is the symbolic

¹ VIII. 3, p. 227; IX. 1, p. 245; X. 5, pp. 282, 283; XI. 2, p. 312; XIII. 2, p. 379.

² II. 7, p. 58.

³ XIV. 3, pp. 429, 430; 5, p. 438; and XV. 1-7.

⁴ In I. 7 and 8 Alexius leaves his tent brilliantly lighted and steals out of it himself, knowing that his enemy Basilacius would attack it first of all.

⁵ III. 8, p. 90. In later passages we find 'the imperial tent and all the stores' coupled together (IV. 7, p. 118; VII. 3, p. 195, and 11, p. 215), and in XV. 1, p. 461, it is pitched last, in the middle of all the other tents. In XI. 7, p. 329, the pitching of the general's tent is the phrase used to denote the encamping of an army.

⁶ IX. 4, p. 253. The capture of the imperial tent at Manzikert by the Turks is specially mentioned by Nic. Bry. (I. 17, p. 31).

⁷ VII. 3, p. 194. *τοῖς μὴ εὐνῶς . . . διακειμένοις κακὸς οἰωνὸς ἔδοξεν*.

⁸ *Epit.* XVII. 12.

⁹ IX. 9. The statement that, once inside the tent, the malcontents 'had their place assigned to them in rows', suggests a very large tent indeed. This is borne out by XI. 3, p. 317, where, when Alexius receives the Crusaders' homage at Pelecanus, he does so in a tent 'in size such as no one at that time had ever yet seen'. In XIII. 1, p. 376, the imperial tent is called *ἐρυθροβαφής*.

mark of the imperial presence.¹ Flags, especially a great number of them waving, strike terror into the foeman's heart.² To 'snatch the flag' from a standard-bearer's hands, 'whirl it round a few times, and then bend it to earth', is a noble deed of daring, likely to prove the turning-point of a battle.³ So sacrosanct indeed is a commander's standard that its place may even be taken in action by the holiest of relics, such as the veil of the Virgin,⁴ one of the sacred Nails of the Passion,⁵ or a 'golden standard of St. Peter'.⁶ The divinity that hedged a king was never more emphatically asserted than in this particular matter, and we like to think of the Byzantine Emperor marching forth amid his loyal soldiery, with trumpets sounding, flags flying, and a host of devoted horse and foot guarding him on every side.⁷

There is however another side to all this, a wholly different aspect of Byzantine military affairs which we must never forget. This in a word is the amazing untrustworthiness of the army. Alexius owed to his troops his elevation to the throne,⁸ yet throughout his history we find him exposed not only to civilian plots and disloyalty but also to insolence, treachery, and mutiny from his soldiers. After the defeat of Durazzo 'all the distinguished and picked soldiers of the Greeks' go over to Bohemund.⁹ The 'Celt' Umbertopulus had been one of Alexius'

¹ V. 6, p. 140; VI. 11, p. 175; VIII. 2, p. 224. In VI. 1, p. 153, the approach to the standard symbolizes the adoption of imperial allegiance by defeated enemy troops. XI. 2, p. 314, the putting 'staves and flags' round the walls, and the proclamation of Alexius with 'trumpets and horns', alike serve to mark the capture of Nicaea by Manuel Butumites. In VIII. 5, p. 233, the presence of 'the man holding the imperial standard' by the side of the Coman contingent helps to keep their loyalty steady.

² VI. 14, p. 184; VIII. 1, p. 223; 2, p. 224; XI. 2, p. 313. The impaled heads of slain Turks are paraded 'as if flags' by the Crusaders outside Nicaea, with a view to inspiring terror from afar (XI. 1, p. 311).

³ V. 7, p. 142.

⁴ Alexius carries this himself in battle, though his weapons hamper him, and a strong wind nearly tears it from his grasp. Rather than that it should be captured by the Patzinaks, he rolls it up and hides it in a bush (VII. 3, pp. 196, 198).

⁵ XI. 6, p. 327.

⁶ This is carried to the First Crusade by Count Hugh, brother of the French king (X. 7, p. 288). Du Cange (note, *ad loc.*) points out that it was a usual gift from Popes to Christian champions.

⁷ See XIV. 5, p. 438. The commander's horse shared in his splendour. That of Bryennius at Calaurae had 'purple trappings and gilded head-gear', with 'the men holding the swords which customarily accompany kings running beside'. Its capture by Alexius, together with the swords, enables him to persuade his army that Bryennius is dead. 'He sent out that gold-adorned horse and the swords wielded on both sides of the sovereign's person, and commanded a very loud-voiced man to run through the army in every direction and shout out that Bryennius had fallen' (I. 5, p. 13). So of the imperial horses at Larissa in V. 6, p. 140.

⁸ II. 7, p. 57.

⁹ V. 4, p. 133.

chief helpers in his usurpation;¹ yet he rebels, drawing after him 'a not ignoble crowd', among whom is another distinguished general, the Armenian Ariebe.² The Emperor waives 'the penalties of the laws', imposing only banishment and confiscation of goods, and Anna passes hurriedly from the subject.³ Nicephorus Diogenes⁴ corrupts 'the whole of the political and military order', especially the more prominent members,⁵ among whom we find the famous old general Cecaumenus Catacalo,⁶ and Alexius' adherents stand ready to oppose armed force to armed force. Nicephorus himself and his brother Leo (who died in his loyalty) had held honourable military positions in the Illyrian and Patzinak campaigns,⁷ and Nicephorus had been made Governor of Crete.⁸

The man who impersonates another Diogenes and does great harm to the Empire with Coman aid is a common soldier,⁹ who comes 'from the East, poor and wearing a goatskin', and he reckons on treacherous assistance from the governor of Adrianople as an ex-rebel, though in this instance the ex-rebel (Nicephorus Bryennius) remains true to Alexius, and the pretender's scheme is crushed.¹⁰

Even during the Crusade, when common anxieties should

¹ II. 4, p. 50. He fought for the Emperor at Durazzo (IV. 4, p. 109) and against the Patzinaks (VI. 14, p. 183).

² VIII. 7, p. 236. Ariebe held the citadel of Achrida against Bohemund (V. 5, p. 136).

³ Zonaras (XVIII. 23) mentions the additional punishment of a 'mocking triumph'. Yet the Celt is given another military command (X. 2, p. 273).

⁴ IX. 5-10.

⁵ Anna tells us that he 'did not take so much trouble about the rank and file of the army, for they had all already turned to him, but he turned wholly towards the chiefs, and showing great concern over the officers and the select men enrolled in the Senate, he won them over' (IX. 6, p. 257, repeated in IX. 8, p. 261).

⁶ N. Banescu, in a paper on Katakalon Kekaumenos read before the Congress of Byzantinology at Bukharest (*Acad. Roum. Bull.*, Tome XI, pp. 29, 36), states his belief that the Cecaumenus Catacalo implicated in Diogenes' plot was not the πάμπας of the author of the *Strategicon*, as he would have had to live over 100 years in that case, but the military hero of Sicilian, Armenian, and Balkan wars between 1038 and 1057. At the time of the conspiracy (1094) he was doubtless an old man, led to rebellion by sympathy with the nobles and officers who resented Alexius' autocracy. Banescu considers that Alexius dealt gently with him, allowing him to be blinded (see Anna's version of the matter IX. 9, p. 265) instead of putting him to death.

⁷ IV. 5, p. 112; VII. 2, p. 190: 3, pp. 195 (*bis*), 196, 198.

⁸ IX. 6, p. 256.

⁹ X. 2. He is described as οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀλλὰ τῆς κάτω τύχης, also as ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος or χαρακηνός. Du Cange takes these last epithets to mean *gregarius miles* from χάραξ a camp, and Reifferscheid supports this view by spelling the words χάρακος and χαρακηνός without capital initials. It is however probable that Χάραξ, capital of a district of Susiana, and its cognate adjective, are what Anna had in mind.

¹⁰ X. 3 and 4.

have made all Greeks cling together, Alexius fears that Michael the Butler, a discontented 'intimate' of his own trained by himself from childhood, may if left in a centre of military activity make τὸ ὀπλιτικόν mutiny.¹ During the Crusade also we find the Emperor, perhaps short of officers, allowing an important command to be given to Eustathius Camytzes,² last heard of as exiled and imprisoned for participation in the rather mysterious conspiracy of Gregory Gabras.³ From this moment, we may add, Camytzes is one of the most prominent of the Greek generals, even allowed when wounded to sit down in the presence of the Empress Irene.⁴ His fellow-conspirator, George son of Decanus, is also pardoned and given a responsible post.⁵

At a later period the Anemas conspiracy involves several of the Emperor's most important officers;⁶ indeed Anna herself intercedes for the Anemas brothers so that her father 'may not be deprived of such soldiers'. Not long after this another soldier revolts, this time at his post in distant parts. This Gregory Taronites Duke of Trebizond rebels, writes abusive letters against other generals and the Senate, is captured, goes to prison, and is suddenly and unaccountably pardoned.⁷ So also some years later is the commandant of Acrunus, whose story is very similar.⁸ Soldiers 'set over the defence of the capital', when taken at a great emergency to the front, cannot be trusted to follow their Emperor into a pitched battle with the Patzinaks.⁹ The guarding of captives is evidently an unpopular task which a general may well be reluctant to impose on his own men,¹⁰ and prisoners of all sorts escape with surprising ease.¹¹

It is of course a sense of this prevalent disloyalty, coupled with the fact that universal service was unknown, that even a good general might be τῆς στρατιωτικῆς παιδείας πάμπαν ἀμύητος, and that young nobles like every one else needed training from experienced teachers in shooting and wielding a spear and

¹ VIII. 9, p. 242; XI. 9, p. 334.

² XI. 5, p. 324.

³ VIII. 9.

⁴ XIV. 6, p. 443.

⁵ VIII. 9, and XIV. 3, p. 431.

⁶ XII. 5, 6, especially 6, p. 363. Castamonites and George Basilacius may have been smarting under disgrace after defeat or under family wrongs (I. 7-9; VII. 3, p. 195; 8, p. 206). But Curticius was one of Alexius' most trusted generals (I. 9, p. 21; V. 5, p. 139; VI. 12, p. 178; VII. 1, p. 189; 3, p. 195; 11, p. 218; VIII. 1, p. 189; 6, p. 235). Michael Anemas had had a command in the Coman War (X. 2, p. 274).

⁷ XII. 7. See above p. 96, note 3; p. 276, note 1.

⁸ XIV. 3, p. 431.

⁹ VIII. 1, pp. 221, 223.

¹⁰ VIII. 6, p. 234; IX. 8, p. 262.

¹¹ VII. 2, p. 193; X. 2, p. 272; 4, p. 278; XII. 7, p. 264. In II. 5, p. 54, guards are bribed to bring news. In XII. 7, p. 365, a prisoner tries at least to corrupt his gaolers.

in horsemanship,¹ which makes Alexius raise during the Patzinak war the corps of Archontopules. Of them Anna writes:² 'This battalion of Archontopules was first invented by Alexius. For when the Empire of the Greeks had no army because of the negligence of previous emperors, he collected from all quarters the sons of fallen soldiers,³ and trained them to arms and called them Archontopules, as being the sons of Captains (archons), so that being reminded by their name of the noble birth and courage of their parents, they too might be mindful of ardent valour.' She then compares them to the Sacred Company of the Thebans, whom in error she calls Spartans. The heavy losses among these brave but inexperienced youths are a desperate grief to Alexius.⁴

Even where soldiers are not actually disloyal, their lack of discipline as we understand it is very striking. The commandant of Larissa adopts to Alexius a hectoring tone which seems even to Anna *παρρησιαστικώτερον*,⁵ and when in the Patzinak campaign Nicephorus Bryennius is 'witty' in a speech to his Emperor, we should call it merely impertinent.⁶ Generals may find it necessary to lie to their troops in order to keep them from plundering.⁷ The traitor Neantzes cuts off in his sovereign's presence the head of an enemy informing against him, and Alexius has to bear this insolence.⁸ After Lebunium Synesius comes *δυσχεραίνων* to his sovereign, chiding him severely for not having had the prisoners killed; the prisoners are finally put to death, and the Emperor suspecting the agency of Synesius has him arrested, but is soon persuaded by the imperial kinsmen to let him go.⁹ Constantine Gabras, one of a very turbulent family, declines the task of 'trenching off the passages' of Bohemund's army, and Anna's only comment is that he was hoping for higher work, which indeed he subsequently gets.¹⁰ Though Imperator as well as *βασιλεύς*, the Emperor could not safely count on loyalty or even on respect from his men.¹¹

¹ I. 14, p. 34; V. 3, p. 130; VIII. 9, p. 241; IX. 2, p. 249; 6, p. 257; XI. 9, p. 333; XII. 1, p. 348; and 2, p. 348; 4, pp. 355, 356; XIII. 2, p. 379; XIV. 1, pp. 419, 420; XV. 3, p. 468. For the rawness of recruits see I. 4, p. 10; 14, p. 34; III. 9, p. 91; V. 1, p. 126. Leo (*Tactica*, VII. 9) said a soldier must be able to jump on to a horse and shoot in any direction from horseback at full gallop. This is still the modern Persian ideal.

² VII. 7, p. 204.

³ For this idea of hereditary devotion cf. IV. 4, p. 109; V. 5, p. 136; VII. 3, pp. 195, 196; IX. 9, p. 262; XIII. 1, p. 378.

⁴ VII. 7, p. 204.

⁵ V. 5, p. 138.

⁶ VII. 2, p. 191.

⁷ VII. 8, p. 206.

⁸ VII. 9, p. 211.

⁹ VIII. 6.

¹⁰ XIII. 7, p. 395; XIV. 3 and 5; XV. 4, p. 473.

¹¹ For earlier times cf. Ch. IX of M. Rostovtzeff's *Social and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Empire* (1926). For insubordination in civilians see Chs. 7 and 43 above.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

58. HORSES.—GREEK FIRE

ONE thing must never be forgotten in reading the *Alexias*, namely that, as Bury says, 'the strength of the army lay in the heavy cavalry'.¹ The use of horses in sport or as a proof of good breeding has been already dealt with; Anna's metaphors² and stock phrases alone would show us the importance of the animal every day of a man's life. But in war he was essential, and her mentions of horse-archers, mounted spearmen, and cavalry-charges would fill a good-sized book.

Oman has pointed out how from Justinian onwards the Byzantine army became more and more preponderantly a cavalry force,³ yet in Anna's day it still contained a considerable number of foot-soldiers, as did the armies of its foes. Robert Guiscard's forces according to Anna consisted of 'armed horsemen and infantry and light-armed troops'.⁴ She elsewhere calls them 'forces of cavalry and infantry passing number'.⁵ In Alexius' march on Constantinople he relies on τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, which is here ἡ κρείττων στρατιά as distinguished from 'the chosen men of the cavalry'.⁶ On another occasion it is as it were a promotion for light-armed and heavy-armed infantry to ride as lancers against the enemy.⁷ In two engagements dismounted horse-archers advance sending out 'a thick shower of

¹ Note to Gibbon, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 99. Robert Guiscard on rising to power triples his cavalry and doubles his infantry (I. 11, p. 24).

² A rebel is a man who 'gets rid of the bridle' (VI. 9, p. 169) (cf. Nic. Bry. III. 1, p. 68). So too ἀνασειράζειν (XI. 8, p. 331), ἐπιστομιζόμενος (X. 2, p. 271), ἀχαλιναγωγῆτος (X. 6, p. 287; XIV. 7, p. 449). If a man goes in any direction he 'bends his rein' (VIII. 5, p. 232, and elsewhere, as also in Nic. Bry., e.g. I. 14, p. 28), if he goes back he 'saddles his horse for return' (V. 7, p. 143; VI. 14, p. 185), &c. See p. 133 above, and p. 511, note 6, below. Gallant warriors gallop 'with loosened rein' (I. 6, p. 14, and *passim*), or 'letting out their whole rein' (VII. 10, p. 215). The beginning of action is 'when the horses are stirred to prick up their ears' (I. 5, p. 11 A); history is a horse which must be controlled (I. 16, p. 40); the State is a chariot where the ruler holds the reins (III. 7, p. 85; VII. 2, p. 191; 8, p. 208; XII. 3, p. 351; XIV. 7, p. 445); cf. p. 133 above.

³ *Op. cit.* I. pp. 174, 187, 193, 196.

⁴ I. 16, p. 37; III. 12, p. 99.

⁵ IV. 1, p. 102. F. Dölger, in his review of Mutavciév's book mentioned above (B. Z. XXVI. p. 107) says of the Byzantine army: 'Die auf Soldatengütern angesiedelten Stratioten waren Reiter', whereas 'die Akriten' on the borders were 'ohne Pferd'.

⁶ II. 10, p. 63. In IV. 4, p. 109; 5, p. 112, τὸ ὀπλιτικόν is apparently used for Alexius' whole army, though it included horse-archers (IV. 6, p. 115).

⁷ III. 11, pp. 95, 96.

arrows', while their *συνασπισμός* adds to their formidable might; on the second occasion their spare arrows are carried on mules.¹ It is noteworthy that the shooting of Nicephorus Bryennius Caesar, comparing favourably in Anna's eyes with that of Teucer, the two Ajaxes, Heracles and Apollo, is performed on foot from the walls of Constantinople.² But the Turks on the other hand always shoot from horseback, making dashes 'like hurricanes', and are liable to break anything but the most serried ranks; even in flight they can pierce with their arrows³ 'either the horse or the horseman' pursuing them. In sober fact, a horse was as valuable as a man if not more so.⁴ The fatigue or fall of his wounded horse puts a soldier, especially a heavy-armed Frank, out of action, so that orders are frequently given to aim at the enemy's horses, not at the men.⁵ Repeatedly throughout the *Alexias* we hear of resting horses,⁶ turning or leading them out to graze or drink,⁷ sparing them and feeding them up for future use.⁸ At the second siege of Durazzo Bohemund's lack of food for his horses, which had to be brought from Italy in special boats, is no less serious than the shortage for his men;⁹ Alexius' forward march is similarly hampered in devastated Asia Minor.¹⁰ Cavalry-charges (*ἵππασίαι*) are the almost invariable opening of a battle,¹¹ and horsemen in small bodies are admirable for annoying the enemy,¹² though in a gorge infantry can easily repulse them, and certain kinds of ground render

¹ VII. 10, p. 214; XI. 2, p. 313. In IV. 6, p. 115, the Varangian Guard dismount, as they always did before battle, and march on *συνησπικότες*, only opening out occasionally to let the horse-archers pass through them for a charge.

² X. 9.

³ XV. 3.

⁴ XIII. 9, p. 399; XIV. 6, p. 442. The horse of Bryennius (I. 5) afterwards saves Alexius' life at Durazzo by his wonderful agility (IV. 7). Like Richard's Barbary, 'so proud that Bolingbroke was on his back', (*Rich. II.*, Act v, sc. 5), Sguritzes seems to have had no objection to a change of owner. A Turk leaps 'like some leopard' on to an enemy's horse in I. 6, p. 15.

⁵ I. 6, p. 15; 9, p. 21; VII. 3, p. 198; 4, pp. 199, 200; 8, p. 207; X. 9, p. 296; XIII. 8, p. 398; XIV. 5, p. 440; 6, p. 442; XV. 4, p. 472. Cf. Nic. Bry. II. 12, p. 49. In Nic. Bry. II. 6, p. 44, Alexius is constrained to ride a mule. In *Al.* VII. 3, p. 197, the Emperor is very careful not to wound his own horse in hacking at 'three Scythian foot-soldiers' who seize his bridle and his leg. In V. 4, he tries to block the Norman horses with wagons and lame them with caltrops. In VI. 14, p. 183, Pacurianus is killed by his horse dashing him against a tree in a charge. In VII. 11, p. 217, Alexius wins the day by rolling wheels against the Patzinak horses. A wounded horse caused the capture of Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert (Nic. Bry. I. 17, p. 30).

⁶ I. 6, p. 16; 11, p. 26; IV. 7, p. 119; VII. 11, p. 217; XI. 2, p. 315.

⁷ VII. 3, p. 195; X. 4, p. 278; XI. 7, p. 329.

⁸ I. 7, p. 18; XV. 2, pp. 465, 466.

⁹ XIII. 2, pp. 380, 381; 8, p. 399.

¹⁰ XI. 8, p. 331; XV. 4, p. 471.

¹¹ *passim*, e.g. VI. 10, p. 172.

¹² IV. 6, p. 115.

them useless.¹ The old reputation of Thessalian horsemen² was equalled by Turks and Normans.³ Single combats by horsemen bearing lances furnish some of Anna's most exciting episodes,⁴ and choice war-horses notably Arabs are mentioned more than once.⁵ Alexius makes horseback charges in person, and even when 'gripped by ague' rides along the lines to inspire confidence in his men.⁶ Besides horses, an army had mules and oxen to carry the baggage or do other hauling, and wagons are also mentioned in this connexion.⁷ In the Patzinak campaigns⁸ we not only hear a great deal of the *ἄμαξαι* or *ἀρμάμαξαι* that played a vital part in the Scythian tactics,⁹ but we also have allusions to the wagons of Greek countrymen, with their wheels and axles.¹⁰ Alexius when his gout prevents his riding goes to the front in a 'covered chariot, grasping the basket-work frame (*λύγος*) in his right hand';¹¹ Irene accompanies the army in a mule-borne litter.¹²

Before we leave external equipment entirely, one method of warfare in which Byzantines delighted must not be passed over. Very frequently Anna tells us of ships and stores and towns and gates and siege-instruments being burnt (the ships twice in bravado, to show there is no turning back),¹³ and though on some occasions the method was clearly only hurling fire-arrows or setting fire to brushwood soaked with oil or pitch,¹⁴ yet she has some references to the famous Greek fire, strictly

¹ V. 7, p. 142; VI. 10, p. 173; X. 3, p. 275. Ground is cleared for cavalry sorties outside a city in XI. 11, p. 340. We may recall the sufferings of the Athenian horses at Decelea (Thuc. VII. 27).

² I. 5, p. 11.

³ So the Celts under Taticius advance 'like fire' with lance in rest and rout the Turks (VI. 10, p. 172). Alexius begs for 500 Frankish horse (VII. 6, p. 202; 7, p. 205). *ἀνὴρ Κελτὸς ἐποχοῦμενος* is *ἀνύποιστος τὴν ὁρμήν* (V. 4, p. 135; 6, p. 140, and XIII. 8, p. 398). Cf. X. 3, p. 277. The Normans in the campaign of 1108 seem to have been all mounted. They attack at full gallop and their charges stop the Scythian archers of the Greek army from shooting (XIII. 6, p. 392). See p. 133 above, especially note 10. For the Turks see XV. 3, p. 469 and elsewhere.

⁴ e.g. I. 6, p. 14; XII. 2, p. 350; XV. 3, p. 469, and elsewhere.

⁵ VII. 7, p. 205; 9, p. 212; XIV. 2, p. 429; XV. 6, p. 478.

⁶ VII. 9, pp. 212, 213. So Cantacuzenus and King Baldwin each gallop out and try to prevent their men flying (XIII. 5, p. 391; XIV. 2, p. 427).

⁷ VII. 10, p. 214; VIII. 4, p. 229; 5, p. 233; 6, p. 235; XI. 11, p. 340; XIII. 3, p. 383; XV. 4, p. 472; 6, p. 477. In XIV. 6, p. 442, the baggage animals seem to have been horses.

⁸ Books VI-VIII.

⁹ They not only cut the bodies of fallen enemies by the scythes fastened beneath, but serve as 'towers' for the ranks.

¹⁰ VII. 9, p. 212; 11, pp. 215-17, 218; VIII. 4, p. 229. So we read of ploughs drawn by oxen (XIV. 9, p. 456).

¹¹ XIV. 5, p. 438.

¹² XII. 3, p. 353.

¹³ IV. 6, p. 114; XIII. 2, p. 380; cf. XIII. 5, pp. 391-4.

¹⁴ IV. 4, p. 110; 6, p. 116; X. 9, p. 294; XIII. 3, pp. 382, 385, 386; 5, p. 391.

speaking a liquid, which Oman¹ enjoins on us to distinguish carefully from the 'inflammable substance attached to ordinary missiles'.² In connexion with the second of Bohemund's abortive devices, when the besiegers are smoked out 'like a swarm of bees', Anna speaks of fire which could be blown from tubes against an enemy. Oman tells us that 'the composition was a great State secret',³ and indeed the *Alexias* gives no details that might convey useful information. It merely says that when Bohemund mined, the Durazzo garrison countermined, and when the enemy came in sight through a hole they 'burnt their faces with fire. Now this fire had been prepared by them by the following contrivances. From the pine and certain other such evergreen trees inflammable resin is collected. This is rubbed with sulphur and put into tubes of reed, and is blown by the men using it with violent and continuous breath. Then in this manner it meets the fire on the tip and catches light and falls like a fiery whirlwind on the faces opposite it.'⁴ Later on in the siege liquid fire, *πῦρ ἐνυγρον*, is mentioned⁵ as applied to the heaped-up, oil-soaked brushwood. Oman sees in these passages an allusion to two kinds of Greek fire, one 'a powder composed of resin mixed with sulphur' blown into the besiegers' faces, and the other 'a much more complicated and formidable substance' in liquid form. We may remark that the danger to the user of blowing inflammable powder down a tube lighted at the end would seem to have been scarcely less than to his enemy.⁶ When Taticius and Lantulph attack the Pisan fleet they have ships fitted at the prows with tubes (concealed in animals' heads) for discharging fire in battle, but whether as a powder or a liquid we are not informed.⁷ As however it was powerful enough to set not only 'rudders' on fire but even 'three huge ships', it

¹ *Op. cit.*, II. 46-8.

² Leo (*Tactica*, XIX. 58) speaks of iron caltrops or nails with lighted tow attached.

³ Const. Porphy., *de Admin. imp.*, ch. 48 (Vol. III, p. 216), deals with Greek fire; so does Leo in his *Tactica*, XIX. In ch. 13 (*loc. cit.* p. 84) Constantine says that the recipe for the Greek fire should be refused to a barbarian, along with other outrageous requests such as an imperial robe or crown, or a bride from the imperial family.

⁴ XIII. 3, p. 383; p. 404 below.

⁵ XIII. 3, p. 385.

⁶ Bury, in his edition of Gibbon, *op. cit.* Vol. VI, p. 111 note, says: 'It is certain that one kind of Greek or marine fire was gunpowder' The recipe is preserved in the ninth-century *Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes* (ed. F. Hofer, *Hist. de la Chimie*, I, 1842).

⁷ XI. 10. The phrase used is ἀφίσθαι πῦρ, also βάλλειν. The animals' heads 'belched forth' the fire, which if discharged 'amiss' was liable to 'go out' without accomplishing anything. In Thuc. VII. 53 a burning ship is propelled against an enemy fleet: this was the old method, less deadly than the new, because less accurate.

was doubtless the deadly liquid of which Oman speaks. Anna as usual wishes to give her father credit for inventiveness, though possibly her words ('they were not accustomed to such apparatus') only mean that this contrivance, whereby fire 'having by nature an upward course' could be sent in any direction, was new to the Pisans in particular.¹ At any rate, if she did believe the device to be an original one of her father's she was mistaken, for already in the tenth century Leo the Wise (or if we go by Krumbacher Leo the Isaurian in the eighth) had² prescribed the fitting of fire-tubes on to all war vessels, as well as the provision of hand-squirts for fire and fire-filled jars for projectiles, to say nothing of other jars full of snakes and scorpions. Schlumberger says that when Nicephorus Phocas went out against the Saracen pirates in 960 he had 2,000 such 'fire-bearing vessels'.³ Another way of using this most formidable of all weapons was, as the reference to Leo shows, to hurl breakable jars of liquid fire against the enemy, either from some sort of engine, or by hand like a modern grenade. Anna writes of the inhabitants of Tyre when besieged by the Crusaders:⁴ 'In one night they filled many earthenware jars with liquid pitch and threw them against the engines (*μηχανήματα*) standing near the city. And when these were of course shattered, this liquid was poured out on the wood,⁵ on to which they threw lighted torches and then again other jars containing much naphtha⁶, which caught fire and straightway turned into a flame reaching to heaven and reduced their engines (*μηχανάς*) to ashes. Then at the time when day began to shine, the fire also shone forth with it, rising like a tower into the air from the wooden pent-houses' (*χελῶναι*, literally 'tortoises').⁷

Finally one instance may be mentioned, where ordinary fire is effectively used by Alexius. In one of his Turkish campaigns

¹ XI. 10, p. 336. Or possibly in the animals' heads there was something new (XI. 10, p. 335). Both hand-squirts and mechanical apparatus might be used to discharge liquid fire.

² *Tactica*, XIX. 6, 51, 54, 56-60.

³ *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, 2^e Série, p. 39. Schlumberger believes that this deadly liquid fire, partly made of explosive oil, was largely responsible for arresting the Saracen expansion in Eastern Europe, such panic terror did it inspire. Attaliates says Constantine Monomachus had ships furnished *τῷ Μηδίκῳ πυρί* (p. 21).

⁴ XIV. 2, p. 426.

⁵ This was obviously brushwood piled up by Baldwin in his desire to take the third zone of the 'outworks' mentioned earlier in the chapter; his preparations were through his carelessness turned against himself.

⁶ This explains the 'naphtha and pitch' got ready by the besieged Geo. Palaeologus at Durazzo (IV. 4, p. 110).

⁷ Oman quotes the *Itin. Regis Ricardi* as saying that Greek fire could only be put out by sand or vinegar (*op. cit.* II. 48).

the enemy defeated in open fight take refuge in a dense and marshy reed-bed, where the Greeks cannot follow. The Emperor sets a ring of soldiers all round, lights a fire at one side, and seizes on all those who try to escape by the other.¹ These unheroic tactics are complacently recounted by his daughter.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

59. THE NAVY

AS to the Byzantine navy, a few words must suffice. C. Neumann pointed out in 1898² that the history of the Byzantine navy had never been adequately written. P. Grenier, in his *Empire byzantin* of 1904, has one short passage on it. Since then Bury, in his edition of Gibbon (1909-14), has given us a brief appendix on the subject,³ Baynes has devoted a few pages to it in his *Byzantine Empire*,⁴ and Diehl brings it into Ch. XXIII of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. IV.⁵ Oman, in his new 1924 edition of *The Art of War*, passes the matter almost wholly by.

As an opening we may quote Baynes's dictum that the Byzantine Empire like Republican Rome 'only took to the sea under compulsion',⁶ and in the course of centuries its fleet was

¹ XIV. 5, p. 441.

² *Hist. Zeitschr.* Vol. 45, pp. 1-23.

³ Vol. VI, App. 5.

⁴ pp. 143-9, 217-20.

⁵ It should be noted that this writer assigns a higher value to the Greek fleet than do most Byzantinists. He says that it 'saved Constantinople in the great siege of 717', and that from the close of the ninth century till the beginning of the twelfth 'Byzantium was the great sea-power of the Mediterranean'. Its end, according to him, only came when Constantinople neglected naval construction and hired foreign vessels, finally in the thirteenth century considering the maintenance of a fleet 'as a useless expense' (pp. 741-2).

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 143. It is interesting to read the opening words of Leo's *Tactica* XIX. *περί ναυμαχίας*. The Emperor in his Preface to the whole book says the art of war is vital and has decayed. In XIX. 1, addressing an imaginary admiral, he says: 'Now we will give directions about naval warfare, having found nothing laid down about it as rules (*κεκανονισμένον*) in ancient works on Tactics.' He says he will 'shortly' (actually in seventy-five paragraphs) explain what he has read *σποράδην* and known 'by brief experience', and learnt from the deeds or sufferings *τῶν πλωτῶν στρατηγῶν*. His maxims are full of sound sense, and dwell more than once on the necessity of adapting one's own mode of warfare to that of the enemy, whose various methods are described, or to circumstances (16, 43, 68, 69, 73). An admiral should know his men personally and exhort them to courage (18, 19, 21, 31). The necessity of careful preparation, training, order, and vigilance is emphasized (20, 25, 26, 29, 74), and signals and formations are studied (39-42, 44-6, 70). No navy wins without two requisites, good soldiers and God's favour (34, 50, 72, 75). Characteristically the Byzantine Emperor advises the avoidance of a general attack when possible (32, 33), and advocates the practice of feigning flight and taking the enemy at a disadvantage (47-9, 61).

inferior to that of the Vandals, of the Arabs,¹ and of the Italians. Even Cecaumenus, though pronouncing that 'the Fleet is the glory of the Empire' (τῆς Ῥωμανίας), speaks of venal, sluggish admirals and ill-equipped ships, and recommends that naval commands should be given to superannuated military men.² Neumann, Baynes, and Bury elucidate the situation somewhat by pointing out that there were two fleets, the imperial and the provincial or thematic, and that the final decay of both in the eleventh century was due respectively to the anti-military policy of the Emperors between Basil II and Alexius I (who all had the example of Romanus Lecapenus to show them that great admirals might be formidable subjects, no less than great generals), and to the Seljuq conquests which annihilated the three maritime themes, the Aegean, the Samian, and the Cibyrhaeot.³ Certainly there was one moment in the tenth century when Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus could claim θαλασσοκρατεῖν as far as the Pillars of Hercules,⁴ and Nicephorus Phocas could boast to the envoy of the German king 'navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest'.⁵ But besides the regular navies of hostile nations, the Byzantines were constantly suffering from the heterogeneous pirates and sea-rovers infesting the Mediterranean, recruited even from 'Scandinavian freebooters' who 'penetrated through the straits of Gibraltar'.⁶ If Moslem piracy had diminished since the Norman conquest of Sicily, it had not ceased; indeed it had in a sense been aggravated by the same practice among the Norman conquerors, of whom Crispin and Guynemer and many others came to the Mediterranean by sea, as well as among the Italian seamen.⁷ Even all through the first Crusade Riant tells us⁸ there were a number of Northern

Odds should never be faced (66, 67). New devices are to be concealed, for fear the enemy might copy them (63). The section ends with saying that a successful admiral will be rewarded not only by the Emperor, but by God whose 'inheritance' he is defending (75).

¹ Grenier believes the death-blow to Byzantine supremacy in the Mediterranean was the pillaging of Thessalonica by the Arabs in 904 (*op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 163).

² λόγ. νορθ., pp. 101-3. Just before this he describes the army as 'the glory of the Emperor and the power of the Palace'. Baynes (*op. cit.* p. 149) says: 'The soldier always took precedence of the sailor, and in this . . . New Rome but preserved the traditions of the older Western capital.' The strategi of maritime themes were paid less than the others (Diehl, *op. cit.* p. 744).

³ Baynes, p. 146, says of this Cibyrhaeot theme: 'Here was the Empire's outpost against the Saracens.' The district of Cibyra in Pamphylia was probably a shipbuilding centre. Cf. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 420.

⁴ *De them.*, Vol. III, p. 58.

⁵ Liutprand, *Legatio*, ch. 11 (*P. L.* 136, col. 915).

⁶ Baynes, *op. cit.* p. 145. 'Some of these robbers', he points out on p. 219, 'thus gained money to go on pilgrimages in honour of Our Lady.'

⁷ J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoudides*, p. 106, note 2.

⁸ *Expéditions des Scandinaves*, p. 138.

vessels 'demi-corsaires, demi-marchands', committing 'pirateries' along the Syrian and Anatolian coasts,¹ and Anna herself mentions the Greek naval police on the watch against pirates in the Adriatic.² Neumann is of opinion as regards the two fleets, imperial and provincial, that the latter did most of the work, being always ready for action, while the former (though larger, at any rate in the tenth century) only came out for a great war. At the end of the eleventh century, he says: 'Ueberall spürt man das Fehlen jener kleinasiatischen Provinzialflotte.'

Alexius (to his credit be it spoken) all through his reign steadily increased the imperial fleet, collecting some ships and building others. As to the size and character of the fleet, 'anchored according to custom' outside Constantinople during his own rebellion and won over for him by Palaeologus as an essential factor towards his success,³ we have no information. There were clearly enough sailors to make a loud 'acclamation' for the new Emperor, and to guard the Capital from any 'who might attempt to cross from the East'. Yet certainly at first Alexius had to rely on 'the navy of the whole State' of Venice, enlisting by immense bribes its aid against Robert Guiscard. In the first sea-fight off Cape Pali the Venetians sustain the combat with the Normans unaided; 'Maurice⁴ with the Greek fleet' is not mentioned till the naval action of the next spring.⁵ When Robert's second invasion is expected, Alexius has still not enough ships of his own and hires some from Venice.⁶ But by the time of the first Crusade he has vessels sufficient for the sending of two separate bodies of the Crusaders straight by sea to the Holy Land,⁷ and a 'Greek fleet' is waiting off Antioch when Taticius decides to bring his troops home,⁸ while Alexius does not hesitate to pit his navy even against the redoubted Pisans and

¹ Alexius sends John Ducas against 'the satraps of the Turks and the barbarians infesting the sea-coast' (XI. 5, p. 322).

² In X. 7, p. 288. Nicolas Maurocatocalo, Dux of the Fleet, is anchored off Durazzo *τὰ πελάγη περισκοπῶν ὡς μὴ λάθοιεν αὐτὸν ληστρικαὶ νῆες παραπλεύσασαι*. For Anna's mention of the 'barbarous Vetones' see above, p. 354 and note 3. Cf. Nic. Bry. III. 3, p. 70; his own father had fought Italian pirates. Baynes believes that the danger from corsairs was one of the reasons why the Byzantines did not care to invest capital in oversea commerce, which gradually passed into the hands of the Italian Republics (*op. cit.* p. 218).

³ Palaeologus exhorts them *ἐπεραλκέα τὴν νίκην ποιησαμένους αὐτῷ* (*sc.* to Alexius) *προσελθεῖν*. II. 11, p. 65.

⁴ Spoken of by Nic. Bry. (II. 26, p. 63) as 'having the greatest possible experience in naval matters'.

⁵ IV. 3, p. 107. Chalandon even puts this action off for nearly two years, till the spring of 1083 (*op. cit.* p. 91, note 3).

⁶ VI. 5.

⁷ X. 10, p. 299; XI. 8, p. 332.

⁸ XI. 4, p. 319.

Genoese.¹ He not only commandeers ships 'from all the lands under the sovereignty of the Greeks', but he has 'a good number' (*ἱκανά*) built under his own direction at Constantinople.² When an invasion by Bohemund is possible though not imminent, he collects such a large fleet 'from the Cyclades Islands and the sea-coast cities of Asia and from Europe itself' that many of his subjects murmur, doubtless at the expense which they would thereby have to bear.³ In policing the seas or helping in sieges or cutting off an enemy's supplies the Greek navy in the *Alexias* plays an honourable if minor part.

As to the kinds of ships mentioned by Anna they are surprisingly many: triremes, pirate-vessels, war (or 'long') ships, dromonds, i.e. light or 'running' craft, 'sermones' (whatever they may have been), freight-ships, horse-transporters, skiffs (sometimes small enough for inland waters),⁴ pinnaces,⁵ and 'merchantmen of heavy tonnage' (*μυριοφόροι ὀλκάδες*), as well as *ναῦς* and *πλοῖα* in general. For going up the Hebrus Alexius uses an *ἀμφίρυκον πλοῖον*⁶ which Du Cange says was equivalent to *ἀμφίρρυτον*, a boat so small as to be washed on all sides by the waves, up to the very gunwale. Important people seem often to have used small boats; Tzachas gets away in an *ἀκάτιον*, Robert Guiscard and Count Hugh each escape from shipwreck on a *σκάφος*, and it is an imperial *μονήρης*, a special one 'set apart for the empresses', that conveys Irene to and from her husband's camp.⁷ In such an inconspicuous boat Bohemund returns to Italy after the humiliating treaty, and Alexius visits the shipbuilding yards, or slips into his capital at the end of the final Turkish campaign so as to avoid a public entry and reception.⁸ Robert Guiscard after his naval defeat at Butrinto goes to Cephallenia in a *μονήρης γαλέα*.⁹ One class of boat which seems to have been reserved for the second in command in a fleet is 'called by sailors' an *ἐξκούσσατον*, from the

¹ XI. 10 and 11.

² XI. 10, p. 335. Some of these are fitted with fire-projecting tubes.

³ XII. 4, p. 356.

⁴ III. 11, p. 95; XI. 2, p. 313.

⁵ VI. 13, p. 181, and VII. 8, p. 205. The word is *ἀγγάρια* from *peregre*, a small fast-sailing boat with a sharp prow used by the Emperors for going across the Bosphorus, i.e. 'abroad'. See Du Cange on VI. 13, p. 181.

⁶ VIII. 3, p. 227; 4, p. 228. Camytzes crosses from Damalin to Constantinople in a boat of this kind (XIV. 6, p. 443).

⁷ III. 12, p. 98; IX. 1, p. 248; X. 7, p. 289; XV. 1, p. 462; 2, p. 463. So a Peloponnesian count 'wings his own *μονήρης* with oars' to dash against the Pisans (XI. 10, p. 336). It is however in a bireme that Bohemund comes from Antioch to Corfu in a coffin (XI. 12, p. 341).

⁸ XI. 10, p. 335; XIV. 1, p. 419; XV. 7, p. 482.

⁹ VI. 6, p. 162.

Latin *excusatum*.¹ Du Cange in a long note explains this as an *oneraria navis*, immune ('excused') from certain fiscal burdens;² it is not an altogether convincing derivation, but the point is hardly worth further discussion.

Scouting, according to Bury,³ was done by *μονήρεις* or galleys (*γαλαῖαι*, a less usual form than *γαλέαι*). So the second Drungary of the fleet is left on the watch 'with his excussate *μονήρης*'.⁴ After Bohemund's death the Dardanelles are guarded by sailors 'making sallies in swift light boats' (*διὰ δρομάδων κούφων νηῶν*), while the hostile Italian fleet sends out 'swift scout ships' (*κατάσκοποι δρομάδες*) to get news of Alexius' whereabouts.⁵ Rafts, ferries, and a pontoon-bridge all figure in Anna's pages,⁶ but call for no special attention.

Compared to modern vessels all the Byzantine vessels were small and unseaworthy, and incapable of withstanding storms; the weather was often a deadlier foe than a hostile fleet. The unseasonable snowstorm and wind which wrecks Robert Guiscard's first fleet, as it tries to cross the Adriatic 'in battle array', gives rise to one of the finest passages in the book, a passage which will bear comparison with Masfield's famous *Dauber*. What concerns us here is however not Anna's style, but the actual way in which the ships are battered to pieces. 'The winds were destroying' [literally 'eating up'] 'the sails, and the yards were shattered and fell on the deck,'⁷ and the boats were sinking, crews and all. So some of the ships with their sailors were engulfed in the waters, some were carried against the headlands and dashed to pieces. Then the hides wrapped round the turrets came loose through the rain, and the nails came out of their proper places, and thereupon the skins growing heavier quickly upset those wooden turrets and falling down sank the ships.'⁸ Even in calm weather the vessels of the eleventh century were liable to capsize if not properly

¹ The 'second count' in the expedition of Nicolas Mavrocatalo has such a boat, also called a *κάτεργον* (X. 8, p. 290); the 'second Drungary of the fleet' under the Contostephani brothers has one with one bank of rowers, another instance of a *μονήρης* for a man of high position (XII. 8, p. 369).

² X. 8, p. 290.

³ *Loc. cit.* The only passage where the word 'galley' occurs in the *Alexias* it has no suggestion of scouting (VI. 6, p. 162). Leo (XIX. 74) recommends having small dromonds for the watch (cf. 29) and *μονήρια* and *γαλέας* ready for emergencies.

⁴ XII. 9, p. 369.

⁵ XIV. 3, pp. 429, 430.

⁶ VIII. 4, p. 229; XIII. 6, p. 394; XIV. 7, p. 447; 9, p. 454.

⁷ We may compare the storm that broke up the Pisan fleet: 'The waves dashed, the yards creaked, and the sails were torn through' (XI. 10, p. 336).

⁸ III. 12, p. 98. Other devastating storms occur in X. 7, p. 288; XI. 10, pp. 336, 337; 11, p. 338. Irene cannot get back to Europe 'because the sea [of Marmora] was not navigable' (XV. 2, pp. 463, 464). A favourite expression is that vessels are *ἡμίθραυστα*,

ballasted: 13,000 (!) Venetians are thus drowned, 'by rushing all together to one side'.¹

From the ships we pass to those on board them. Neumann² points out that the crews (he might have added, 'like the land forces') came from three sources, native Greeks, 'im Reich angesiedelte Barbaren', and foreign mercenaries.³ Baynes states that 'in the *Tactica* of Leo VI' (giving it the later date and not the earlier suggested by Krumbacher) 'the crews are soldiers and sailors too',⁴ but that the two arms were differentiated 'in the expedition of 902'. As a matter of fact we plainly see from the *Alexias* that the distinction between soldiers and sailors, as between generals and admirals, was never absolute. Only in one place is there a definite contrast drawn between 'those of the fleet' (who 'being unversed in fighting on land' are panic-stricken and useless in a siege) and 'the land soldiers' (*ἡπειρώται στρατιῶται*).⁵

On the whole we may say that the Byzantine navy was always complementary to the army. Anna herself, by her shorter descriptions, stilted phrases, and evidently diminished interest,⁶ makes us feel that battles at sea, partly no doubt because her father never took part in them, are of secondary importance to those on land. Only the action with the flagship of *ὁ κόμης Πρεβέντζας* and the use of fire-ships against the Pisans rouse her to any real enthusiasm, and she shows from first to last little knowledge of naval ways.⁷

¹ VI. 5, p. 161. In VII. 8, p. 210, a commander seems to have waited for sailing till he 'found the sea low-waved'. This is prescribed by Leo, *op. cit.*, 2, 27.

² *Op. cit.* p. 6.

³ Diehl, *op. cit.* p. 742, says that the Mardaites from Mt. Lebanon and some Varangians served in the fleet: also that the native sailors were rewarded with hereditary fiefs.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 148. The *Tactica* (XIX. 13) makes the upper bank of rowers the fighters, armed like land soldiers (65). The lower bank has spears (62). This was the classical custom. Spartan 'hoplites who will themselves handle the oars' are spoken of by Thucydides (VI. 91). It seems to him anomalous for naval actions to have 'almost the appearance of a battle by land' (*ibid.* I. 49; VII. 62, 63) through having decks crowded with special soldiers.

⁵ XII. 8, pp. 367, 368. As always, the most important person on a boat was the steersman (*οἰακοστρόφος*, II. 7, p. 57; *πηδαλιούχος*, X. 8, p. 290; *κυβερνήτης*, X. 2, p. 271). Words used for sailors are *πλωτῆρες* (III. 12, p. 98) and *τὸ ναυτικόν* or *οἱ ναυτικοί* (III. 12, p. 97; XI. 5, p. 323) who may be used to garrison a town. In some passages 'the rowers' seem to be contrasted with the other men on board (IX. 1, p. 248; X. 7, p. 288; 8, pp. 290, 293; XI. 5, p. 323). We hear of rowing 'noiselessly' (III. 11, p. 95) or the reverse (XII. 9, p. 369); also ceaselessly (VII. 8, p. 207); also of holding water (III. 12, p. 98).

⁶ Const. Porph. *de Admin. imp.*, has only one chapter dealing with the fleet (51 in Vol. III), and Leo's *Tactica* has only one Constitution.

⁷ X. 8; XI. 10. One point involving her accuracy may be noticed here. She gives the Venetians in Robert's two Illyrian campaigns credit for five naval victories and one defeat (IV. 2, 3, p. 107; VI. 5). Of these five victories Chalandon

MILITARY AFFAIRS

60. BATTLES AND AMBUSCADES

OUR study of the Byzantine navy has taken us a little aside from our main subject, which is Military Affairs seen by Anna as the medium of her father's glory. We have spoken of his untiring persistence, like a caltrop indeed, in sharing every side of his army's labours. Before we go into details of life on a campaign, it may be well to recapitulate very briefly the principles which he held up before him, as they are to be gleaned from his daughter's encomiums.

It has been said so often as scarcely to brook repetition that the Byzantine mind admired cleverness above all things; not for nothing was their chief church dedicated to Wisdom. So that though Anna is proud of her father's courage she is even prouder of his tricks and diplomacy in war, his feigned flights, his playing off a weaker foe against a stronger one, his stratagems to conceal his inferior numbers, and the rest.¹ Above all does she gloat over his skill in performing two characteristically Byzantine transactions,² *ὑποποιεῖσθαι*, 'to win over' (usually by

believes the second to have been a small incident grossly magnified (*op. cit.* p. 91, note 3), and the fifth (after the defeat) to have been a pure invention, because we know that the Venetians deposed their Doge in punishment for the destruction of their fleet (p. 93, note 3). It is however possible that they got ready another. Their 'dromonds and triremes and small ships' were probably not all in action together, and Anna leaves the length of the interval between defeat and victory quite vague. In the absence of better evidence we will believe Anna. The other suggestion (p. 71, note 3), that Alexius' negotiations with the Venetians (IV. 2, p. 105) began earlier than his daughter seems to say, is more plausible.

¹ See above, Ch. 21 and pp. 153, 245. In VI. 11, p. 175, the humouring of the weaker of two enemies is erected into a principle. In I. 3, p. 7, he has the 'Palamedes-like device' of pretending to blind Urselius, and the same comparison is applied by his daughter to his dealings with Botaniates (II. 2, p. 47). In I. 5, p. 13, he falsely proclaims his enemy's death; in I. 7 and 8, he deceives Basilacius, and in V. 5 and 6, Bohemund, by concealing his own position; in I. 4, p. 10, and X. 4, p. 281, he hides the inferior numbers of his army; in V. 5, p. 139, he orders a feigned flight, and Anna says he often did so (XV. 3, p. 467). (For other generals who conceal their numbers see XI. 2, p. 313; XIII. 9, p. 401; XIV. 1, p. 421; XV. 1, p. 461: Cf. Thuc. V. 8.) In VII. 2, he plays a mean trick on the Patzinak envoys. In VIII. 1, p. 223, he deceives the enemy by dressing up his men in prisoners' clothes; in XI. 2, p. 314, he outwits the Crusaders by a *μηχανή* or *δράμα*. In X. 4 he approves the acted lie of Alacaseus. He exhorts Palaeologus to use 'every device' (III. 9, p. 92).

² II. 3, p. 48; V. 7, p. 143; VI. 4, p. 158; 6, p. 163; 12, p. 178; VII. 6, p. 202; VIII. 4, p. 228; 5, p. 230; X. 11, 306; XIII. 4, p. 387. In XI. 3, p. 315, his two captured generals adopt the same methods with the Turks. See also IX. 2, p. 249; 6, pp. 257, 258; 8, p. 261; XI. 4, p. 319 (*bis*); 8, p. 332; XII. 5, p. 360; XIII.

fair means or foul), and ἀπαιωρεῖν, 'to keep amused' some opponent while acting behind his back. Again and again we hear of the Emperor endeavouring to 'win' some one away from his proper allegiance by promises or by money down, or by circulating untruths or arousing discontent, and though he is not invariably successful it never seems to discourage him from fresh efforts of the same kind. He does not draw the line even at bogus letters to sow dissension.¹ As to keeping his foes amused, it is a performance on which Anna loves to dilate.² In short, like Cinnamus she holds that to win a victory δι' ἀπάτης or ῥαδιουργῶν is as good as any other way;³ all that matters is the winning; and as a fact her father's military successes were

12, p. 411; XIV. 2, p. 424. In Books VII and VIII Alexius holds out revenge, booty, and pay, as inducements to bring over the Comans to fight their former friends the Patzinaks. Anna cannot help admiring as γενναῖος the Norman count who refuses to desert Bohemund and enter her father's service (VI. 1, p. 154), and the Venetians are equally loyal to Alexius (VI. 5, p. 161); but large sums of money buy the homage of the Crusaders. In VI. 5, p. 159, Alexius' attempts upon Robert Guiscard's son Guy met with ultimate failure, as the later history shows (XIII. 4, 5, 9, and 10), but temporary success, if we are to believe the *Chanson d'Antioche* (see Chalandon, p. 92) and a possible interpretation of Callicles' Poem XXXII. (See Ch. 67, below.) In XI. 11, p. 339, the 'soldiers of Tancred stood firm and Cantacuzenus ὑποποιούμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθε. The πανουργία of Alexius in XIII. 4, is also unsuccessful. But see XIV. 3, p. 432, where he wins the Turks. The policy of the Athenians of splitting up hostile combinations is alluded to by the Syracusans in Thuc. VI. 77, and Alcibiades practises it (*ibid.* VIII. 45).

¹ XIII. 4. In this connexion we may quote Oman (*Art of War*, I. 202): 'There is ample evidence, not only from the records of chroniclers but from the chapters of Leo's *Tactica*, that the East-Romans felt no proper sense of shame for some of their over-ingenious stratagems in war.' He instances negotiations only intended to lull the enemy 'into a belief in the certainty of peace' and thus to make an attack easier, and also the sending of 'bribes into the hostile camp'. Leo recommends two ancient tricks 'that were already 1,000 years old in his own day. The first is that of addressing treasonable letters to officers in the enemy's camp and contriving that they shall fall into the hands of the commander-in-chief in order that he may be made suspicious of his lieutenants'. It is interesting to find Alexius putting into practice this doubtfully moral maxim of a bygone Emperor, his predecessor on the same throne.

² VI. 10, pp. 174, 175. The people of Tyre act like this to Baldwin (XIV. 2, p. 426), and so do the Comans to Alexius (X. 4, p. 281). The word ἀπαιωρεῖν (equivalent to μετέωρον ταῖς ἔλπισι ποιεῖν, XIV. 2, p. 426) may indeed be taken as expressing in one word much of the diplomatic ideal of Anna's day. (We must note that in X. 2, p. 272; XIII. 3, p. 381; and XV. 11, p. 501, the word has either a slightly or a wholly different meaning.) Pulchases the Turk does it to Alexius (VI. 12, p. 179); Alexius does it to the Patzinaks (VIII. 5, p. 230); the mother of Tancred does it to the imperial admiral (XII. 8, pp. 366, 367). So when Bohemund asks for the Domesticate of the East the Emperor 'fawns on him with fine hopes' (X. 11, p. 304). Again, it is hardly necessary to say that to return the same answer to each of two rival suitors is a trick of venerable age; Robert Guiscard practises it towards the Pope and the German king (I. 13, p. 33), just as centuries before the men of Camarina had so dealt with the Syracusans and Athenians (Thuc. VI. 88). In VIII. 7, Alexius sends letters of different meaning to his nephew John Comnenus and to the latter's subordinates at Durazzo.

³ V. 5, p. 138; 6, p. 141; XIII. 4, p. 387; XV. 3, p. 467. In I. 4, p. 10, she says of him κλωπετεύειν τὴν νίκην ἐβούλετο. Cf. Thuc. V. 9 on κλέμματα in war.

more often won by stratagems of various sorts than by open attacks. With a heterogeneous and doubtfully loyal army such as we have described, this was probably inevitable. If he was ever and indeed usually successful we, like his daughter, may reasonably ascribe it to his own qualities of 'strategic skill'¹ and his conviction that anything, 'craft' or even 'roguery', was better than defeat.² Even his zeal as a converter of heretics did not make him neglect either learning or strategy,³ though temporarily he 'took up the apostolic contest instead of the strategic'.⁴ This paragon indeed 'in all things excelled all, in didactic discourse he outstripped those who busied themselves about speech,⁵ in battles and strategies he surpassed men admired in arms'.⁶ For in her eyes 'the first of virtues is the wisdom of generals in gaining a victory without danger'; a good leader is resourceful, ever devising something *πανούργον καὶ στρατηγικόν*, something brilliant (*ὀξύ τι*), and condescending to any stratagem against superior numbers.⁷ His advice to the Crusaders runs characteristically on the same lines. They must rely on solid ranks and ambushes, and if victorious must not pursue the enemy far or in disordered fashion; neglect of these maxims spells ruin.⁸ A general's first duty according to the experts of the day was to keep his men safe.⁹

As to the nature of his military operations, they were three-fold; Anna herself divides them into 'sieges, ambushes, and fights in regular battles'.¹⁰ But before we deal with these in detail something must be said about the preliminaries to all military

Attal. (p. 108) says that to the general must be attributed the good or bad success of an army. See I. 1, p. 4; 2, pp. 4, 5; 4, p. 10; 5, p. 11; 7, p. 18; X. 11, p. 306; XIII. 4, p. 386 (*bis*); 5, p. 391; XIV. 8, p. 453. So Polybius (I. 84, 6) extols *στρατηγικὴ δύναμις* over 'unreasoning military routine'. The phrase is constantly used in the *Alexias* not only of Alexius but of other generals, especially Bohemund. We may contrast IX. 2, p. 249; XII. 2, pp. 348, 349. She also says, 'The race of Celts has never made use of strategic order and science at all' (XI. 6, p. 325). On Alexius as a general see above, chs. 55 and 57.

¹ XIII. 4; XV. 3.

² Though she does not say so, we may assume that he was familiar with Leo's *Tactica*. Its twenty-one divisions deal with all the matters in which Anna displays such interest: arms, training, camps, sieges, marches, battles, and above all with the different *παράξεις* of Saracens, Turks, Bulgarians, Scythians, Gauls, Lombards, and Slavs, all enemies of the Empire.

³ XIV. 8, p. 453.

⁴ Taking *λόγους* and *λόγον* as referring specially to oratory, rather than to learning in general.

⁵ XV. 8, p. 487.

⁶ XV. 3, p. 467.

⁷ X. 10, p. 301; 11, p. 305; XI. 3, pp. 317, 318; 8, p. 332. Bohemund pursues the fleeing Greeks *ἀκρατῶς*, so his unguarded camp is sacked, and the rest of his cavalry defeated (V. 6, p. 140; cf. Thuc. VIII. 105).

⁸ VI. 10, p. 172; 13, p. 180. Cf. *ἀγωνίζου . . . φυλάττειν τὸν λαόν σου* (Cec. *Strat.* p. 10).

⁹ V. 1, p. 126.

undertakings of whatever nature, namely, study of the ground, scouting, the pitching of a camp, and the choosing of times and seasons.

The first point, topography, is evidently one which interests Anna, and she is fond of describing 'the lie of the land' (τοῦ τόπου τὴν θέσιν) and the attention paid to it by the various generals.¹ To pursue this topic in detail would take us too far. We will only give two instances. A situation 'near a fortress . . . having the river on one side and being marshy on the other' is the spot chosen by Alexius for one of his camps in the Patzinak War, a choice not made till he has himself examined the river-bed and banks on both sides and explained the topography to his officers.² Again, when Alexius is anxious to defend his borders against the Dalmatians, he studies the ground in person, 'going everywhere on foot, and gazing about him with his own eyes, lest some unguarded spot should escape him' in this locality of gorges 'hilly, riven, thickly wooded, and wellnigh impassable'.³

Connected with this careful study of the ground we must note the dependence on scouts, who with deserters from the other side were a general's only source of information.⁴ Cecaumenus is insistent on their value: 'in war let there be with thee scouts many and faithful and active.'⁵ Some valuable news must have been got by those who executed the ἀκροβολισμοί of which we hear so constantly, but the reliance was mainly on scouts specially sent out to reconnoitre, men to 'run ahead', as they are once called.⁶ They go out 'in all directions' to ascertain the movements of the Patzinaks;⁷ one scout by receiving a signal and passing it on enables the Emperor's forces to attack Castoria from the lake side and the land side simultaneously.⁸ Scouts watch for fleets⁹ as well as armies,¹⁰ and a pretence of advancing to κατασκοπεῖν the enemy's lines affords an excellent

¹ I. 5, p. 11; 7, p. 18; IV. 5, p. 111; V. 5, p. 138; 7, p. 141; VI. 1; X. 3, p. 275 (*bis*); 5, p. 282. For an unfavourable situation see VI. 10, p. 173.

² VIII. 3, p. 227. Similar localities are chosen by Cantacuzene in XIII. 5, p. 392; 6, p. 394.

³ IX. 1, p. 245.

⁴ We may compare the scouts who appear throughout all Polybius' *History* (e.g. in the sea battle of I. 53) and the 'currouers' of Froissart, constantly sent out to ascertain the position and numbers of the enemy.

⁵ *Strat.* pp. 9 (*bis*), 26. So at Cynossema the Athenians were nearly overwhelmed by the Spartans because their 'scouts had failed them' (Thuc. VIII. 103).

⁶ VIII. 2, p. 223.

⁷ VI. 14, p. 184.

⁸ VI. 1, p. 153. Here the topography is most important.

⁹ VII. 8, p. 208; XII. 8, p. 368.

¹⁰ VIII. 4, p. 229; XIV. 3, p. 429; XV. 6, p. 479. In IV. 1, p. 103, they are set on the walls of Durazzo to watch for Robert Guiscard. In XIII. 5, p. 391; 6, p. 394 (*bis*), Cantacuzenus' scouts are apparently 'barbarians'.

opportunity to a traitor for going across and revealing his master's plans.¹ In one instance we hear of one body of scouts being followed by another to keep them up to the mark, the two duties of such men being vigilance and careful observation,² so that even the great Alexius is said to watch for his Turkish enemy 'like a scout'.³

From scouting we pass to the pitching of camps, to which Anna often refers. This usually demanded 'trenches and a palisade',⁴ and this feature of an encampment is mentioned so often as to make enumeration unnecessary and effectively to contradict Oster's statement,⁵ that 'die Befestigung des Lagerplatzes . . . nur bei sehr vereinzeltten Gelegenheiten ausdrücklich und, wie es fast scheinen möchte, als ungewöhnlich hervorgehoben wird'.

The last preliminary matter to be considered is the time and season which appeared most appropriate for fighting in the eyes of Anna's contemporaries. All through the *Alexias* we find the assumption that winter is a close time for fighting,⁶ while summer heat is hardly less objectionable for any military operations.⁷ The disregard of seasons by the Patzinaks was one of the most disconcerting features of their raids.⁸ On one occasion we are told that, the summer being over and the autumn equinox just passed, 'this season seemed favourable for taking the field',⁹ a point of view with which those familiar with Asia Minor, where the weather is at its best in late September and early October, would undoubtedly sympathize. But we cannot help reflecting that, with winter and summer both barred, campaigns must have been extremely short.¹⁰

On the other hand the length of each fighting day must have been very great, for we constantly hear of councils,

¹ VII. 9, p. 211.

² XIV. 1, p. 421.

³ XV. 3, p. 466.

⁴ In I. 4, p. 10, their absence is specially mentioned. In XV. 1, p. 461, the Greek 'tents' do not seem to have been fortified, but the army is at the time taking the offensive. For the usual practice see I. 7, p. 18; II. 6, p. 57; IV. 3, p. 108; V. 5, p. 138; VII. 8, p. 207; VIII. 3, p. 227; 4 pp. 229, 230, and many other instances of a *τάβηρος* or a *χάραξ*.

⁵ A. K., Pt. III, p. 28.

⁶ e.g. V. 1, p. 125; IX. 1, p. 246, and often elsewhere. This was, as is well known, the principle on which the old Greeks conducted their campaigns, notably in the Peloponnesian War; they never fought in winter. In I. 16, p. 37, Robert Guiscard in winter chooses the shortest possible sea journey for crossing to Illyria.

⁷ IX. 1, p. 246; X. 5, &c.

⁸ VII. 2, p. 190. As has been pointed out by Dieter (*B. Z.* III. pp. 386-90) this passage is copied from Psellus (*Chron.*, Basil II, Byz. T., p. 12), and may possibly be wholly inaccurate as applied to the Patzinaks.

⁹ XV. 3, p. 468.

¹⁰ It should be pointed out that the winter was used for training (Leo, *Tactica*, VII. 2).

marches, and the like taking place in the night. Generals ponder all night over their plans,¹ or even go out then for reconnoitring,² while the self-indulgent drown care in drink, and women pray and sing 'holy hymns' in churches.³ As in other lands, the carrying of secret messages,⁴ private diplomacy,⁵ sudden surprises of an enemy,⁶ all this takes place while the world is asleep. It is at night that Alexius fears the men of Amasea will set the captured Urselius free,⁷ at night that he himself escapes out of and into Constantinople.⁸ In the darkness hostile attacks or prying are feared and hostile forces slip away,⁹ while other men remain hidden in ambush or on the watch,¹⁰ or a commander makes his preparations and issues his instructions for the morrow.¹¹ By night deeds of violence are attempted or executed,¹² so that those in high places especially need the 'unsleeping eye' of devotion near them.¹³

In all this there is nothing exceptional, and if the use of night for drawing up documents, organizing military hymn-sings and processions, trying siege appliances, marching, holding councils, or arguing with heretics seems more frequent in the *Alexias* than is customary with us, we must remember the difference of climate and the desirability of avoiding the day's heat. On the other hand the turning of night into day by the anxious watchers round Alexius' dying bed is one of the many touches of nature in Anna's final chapter that make the whole world of wives and daughters kin.

We will now take up in reverse order Anna's threefold division of military operations, and deal successively with battles,

¹ I. 2, p. 6; II. 9, p. 61; III. 2, p. 73; VII. 10, p. 214; II. 215. In XV. 6, p. 477, the Sultan after a repulse 'grieved through the whole night'.

² IV. 1, p. 103. But the phrase *διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* may be merely a conventional one, as in VI. 1, p. 152, it occurs with the word *μαχόμενος*, and in V. 9, p. 147, is applied to the way Alexius and Irene 'toiled over the study of' the holy books. In XV. 11, p. 499, it is probably used literally of Irene's devoted nursing.

³ II. 5; III. 8, p. 88; V. 8, p. 144. In XIII. 1, p. 378, we hear of night prayers said by a man.

⁴ II. 4, p. 50; 6, p. 55; VI. 10, p. 171; X. 2, p. 274; 4, p. 278.

⁵ II. 4, p. 50; IX. 8, p. 261; X. 2, p. 272.

⁶ III. 11, p. 95; IV. 6, p. 114; VII. 10, p. 214; IX. 5, p. 254.

⁷ I. 2, p. 7.

⁸ II. 4, p. 51; 5, p. 52; XV. 7, p. 482. So Diogenes wishes to leave the imperial camp at night (IX. 7, p. 258). By night Alopus escapes from Mitylene and Tzachas from Chios (VII. 8, pp. 205, 210), and a Greek general tries to get into Adrianople unperceived by the Comans (X. 3, p. 276).

⁹ X. 4, p. 281; XI. 4, p. 321; 6, p. 326; XIII. 9, p. 401; XV. 4, p. 470.

¹⁰ V. 5, pp. 139, 140; VII. 3, p. 195.

¹¹ VII. 10, p. 214; VIII. 1, p. 221; XIII. 6, p. 394; XV. 6, p. 477.

¹² VIII. 6, p. 234; IX. 5, p. 254; XI. 2, p. 315; XIII. 1, pp. 377, 378.

¹³ XII. 3, p. 352; XIV. 4, p. 437.

ambuscades, and sieges.¹ When we come to details of fighting we at once note the conscientious way in which Anna describes the right wing and the left wing and the centre, both of friends and foes, how they were composed and how they behaved.² Yet for the average reader the result is merely wearisome.³ Whether it is Homer or some Attic historian that she is imitating, as Miss Gardner and Stemplinger would respectively have us think, it cannot be said that her battle scenes are the most successful parts of her work. Their mere number would make it impossible to speak of them all, even supposing it added at all to our knowledge of her. If we are to single out a few more interesting than the rest, we may choose the night battle with Basilacius,⁴ the defeat at Durazzo with Alexius' wonderful escapes,⁵ and the victory of Lebunium where the army is kept alive by peasants acting as water-carriers.⁶

We must, however, spend a little time on the question of the 'new *παράταξις*' or battle array of Alexius which seemed to his daughter so superhumanly wonderful. First we must note that the noun *παράταξις* and the verb with its various derivatives are great favourites⁷ with Anna and with her husband, but with a not perfectly uniform meaning.⁸ Usually it is 'line of battle', and as such occurs too often to make references necessary. Sometimes 'formation' comes nearer to it,⁹ sometimes we must translate 'tactics'.¹⁰ Once *ἀγωνίαι ἐκ παρατάξεως*, 'regular battles', are contrasted with 'sieges and ambushes'; on two occasions the 'line' is distinguished from horse-archers and other

¹ V. 1, p. 126.

² We may compare the battle of Manzikert in Nic. Bry. I. 16, p. 29.

³ See Alexius' campaigns against Urselius, Bryennius, and Basilacius in Book I, the siege of Constantinople in II. 10, the war against Robert Guiscard and Bohemund in Books IV and V, the Patzinak and Coman campaigns of Books VI, VIII, and X, the final contest with Bohemund in Book XIII, and the struggles with the Turks constantly recurring throughout the history, from the beginning of Alexius' reign to the very end.

⁴ I. 7 and 8.

⁵ IV. 4-8.

⁶ VIII. 5.

⁷ In the first book they occur six times, in 5, pp. 10, 11; 7, p. 17; 8, p. 20; 9, p. 21; 13, p. 33. The noun can usually be translated 'line', and the verb means 'to post'. In IV. 4, p. 109; V. 5, p. 139, *τὸ σχῆμα τῆς παρατάξεως* comes to mean 'each man's place in the line'. Sometimes it is plural, 'lines' (IV. 6, p. 115; IX. 10, p. 265). In her characteristic way of repeating a word at short intervals, Anna uses some form of *παράταξις* three times in X. 3, p. 275, three times in XI. 3, p. 317, and three times in XIII. 6.

⁸ Similarly *Phalanx* in Byzantine Greek is no longer a technical term for a definite military force; it merely means 'troops' in larger or smaller bands.

⁹ VI. 10, p. 171; X. 9, p. 296; XV. 3, p. 470. In XV. 3, p. 469, the plains of Dorylaeum are said to be large enough *πρὸς παρατάξεις*. In XII. 2, p. 348, *παρατάξεις* are contrasted with *μάχαι*.

¹⁰ VI. 14, p. 182, Pacurianus is *παράταξιν διαμηχανήσασθαι ποικιλώτατος*. So is the blinded Nicephorus Bryennius (VII. 2, p. 191).

mounted fighters.¹ The commander generally takes his position in the centre τῆς παρατάξεως.² When Alexius rouses up the citizens of Rūsium 'and even the peasants with their private wagons' to support his fighting troops, the enemy is dismayed to see τὴν διττὴν παράταξιν.³ In the battle of Lebunium the Greek 'line' becomes crescent-shaped,⁴ as the wings rush forward. In two later passages the verb ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι is used of resisting calamity or danger.⁵ Finally we get the word παράταξις in a sense combining the ideas of all three words given above, line, formation, and tactics, as where Cecaumenus says, παρὰ πάσας τὰς παρατάξεις ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐστὶ κρείττων,⁶ or where Alexius devises one so novel and wonderful as to impress all beholders. What then was his καυὴ παράταξις? It is worth a little trouble to discover, especially when Oster summarily dismisses it as a revival of the forgotten method of marching 'in hohlen Vierecken',⁷ surely a most inadequate explanation.

As we have seen, inventiveness was a quality which Anna loved to claim for her father, but which we cannot always admit. Thus his σύνταγμα which was φοβερὸν θέαμα seems merely to have been a return to the solid serried ranks where each man knew his place;⁸ his καυὴ στρατηγία in the last war with Bohemund is clearly only the adoption of defensive warfare instead of offensive,⁹ while the πολέμου σχῆμα so carefully enjoined on his troops is just a clearing of the road by horse-archers, previous to the slower advance of the main body.¹⁰ But in the final Turkish campaign Anna harps on the novelty of her father's tactics¹¹ which, when he finds a plain large enough, he puts into practice, after having with painful thought worked them out on parchment.¹² The solidity of the formation causes Alexius himself to consider it a divine inspiration, and the experienced archsatriap Monolycus, struck with equal admiration, guesses its originator. It advances like 'some living fortified city (πεπυργωμένη)', and prisoners, women, and children are in the middle. The Greeks can resist attacks while keeping the παράταξις unbroken, and this is its peculiar virtue. With vehemence Anna protests

¹ V. 1, p. 126; VII. 8, p. 207; 10, p. 214; 11, p. 216; XV. 4, p. 469; 5, p. 474.

² IV. 6, pp. 114, 115; VI. 14, p. 184; VII. 3, p. 195; XIV. 5, p. 441.

³ VII. 10, p. 213.

⁴ VIII. 5, p. 232.

⁵ XII. 3, p. 353; XV. 8, p. 489.

⁶ *Strat.*, p. 10.

⁷ A. K., Pt. III, p. 28.

⁸ XIII. 2, p. 379.

⁹ XIII. 4, p. 386.

¹⁰ XIII. 8, p. 397.

¹¹ XV. 3, pp. 468-70; 5, p. 474; 6, p. 477; 7, p. 481.

¹² Anna says (XV. 4, p. 469) he had studied the *Tactics* of Aelian, a Greek writer who dedicated to Hadrian this work from which Psellus compiled extracts; *G. B. L.* p. 636. Attaliates describes Romanus Diogenes sitting in his tent διαγράφων τὸν πόλεμον (p. 113).

against the idea that this invention resembled anything known before. The *παράταξις* passed on solidly and steadily, it could be halted at a word, in its serried ranks and closeness (*συνασπισμῷ καὶ ἀλληλουχίᾳ*) it was like the 'unshaken mountains', in its movements it resembled 'a great living creature'. It was emphatically 'new and marvellous to all, and such as no one has ever yet seen, or in writing history has handed down to posterity'.¹ If, as Oster thinks, hollow squares such as the ancients knew well had fallen wholly into oblivion by Anna's day,² this language might not be unnatural or excessive, though it is not easy to suspect our learned princess of such historical ignorance. But even so, it does not help us to translate one very difficult passage.³ Anna has described the Turkish *παράταξις* as unique, because the right wing, left wing, and centre were all disjoined, and could attack an enemy on all sides with arrows, 'such first-rate archers are they'. Then comes this sentence: 'Turning then his attention to this, that much experienced Emperor himself made the formations (*τὰς παρατάξεις*), and placed his phalanxes, οὕτως ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν τοξεύειν ὅθεν αἱ ἀσπίδες προβέβληντο, τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν βάλλειν ὅθεν τὰ ἀσκέπαστα ἦν τοῦ σώματος.' Taking *τοὺς μὲν* as 'the Turks', contrasted with *τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους*,⁴ we propose the following translation: 'So that the enemy should shoot with his right hand towards the spot where the shields were held in front, and that our men should shoot with their left hands towards where the uncovered part of the enemy's body was.' That is to say, Alexius made the Greeks adopt a wholly new method of shooting, holding their bows in their *right* hands, and pulling the strings with their *left*, so that thereby the shields on their left arms were brought round to cover their bodies.⁵ It may be noted, first that the instinct of soldiers is always to shoot straight before them, perpendicularly to their own line of battle, and secondly that Thucydides dwells on the tendency of armies to thrust to the right 'because every soldier individually fears for his exposed side, which he tries to cover with the shield of his comrade on the right (*τοῦ ἐν*

¹ XV. 7, pp. 481, 482.

² We must note that her phrase 'he again drew up that new *παράταξις* and placing all the prisoners with the women and children in the middle he departed', hardly reads as if the hollow square, with non-combatants in the middle, was the essence of the scheme (XV. 4, pp. 473-4: 6, p. 477).

³ XV. 3, p. 470.

⁴ The P. G. translation takes *τοὺς μὲν* as meaning 'some of the Greeks' and *τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους* of the rest who held their shields out. This seems indefensible.

⁵ The lines would look 'fortified' (XV. 4, p. 474) because the shields covered the bodies more than in ordinary armies.

δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένον)¹.¹ If our rendering is correct the arrangement had indeed all the novelty which Anna predicated of it, and even if 'angels' had nothing to do with it, the reader, like Monolycus, is 'struck with wonder at that new disposition of the battle-array' whereby panic and breaking of the ranks seems to have become a thing of the past.

Another suggestion has however been made by a distinguished Greek scholar, namely that Alexius' novelty consisted in confronting the Turks with a slanting line, which whenever it was attacked wheeled round, so as always to present a series of shield-covered left shoulders, while discharging arrows against the uncovered right breasts of the enemy. This position of the Greek line (not parallel to the Turkish but sloping away at an angle, with the soldiers forced to shoot not perpendicularly to their own front²) would make their shots fall slantwise on their foes, and their rapid yet steady wheeling round, to correspond with any movement in the lines opposed to them, may well have caused the impression about which Anna grows rhapsodical, that 'moving they remained motionless and standing they advanced'.³ Clearly solidity and unbrokenness was the strong point of this particular order of battle, and a sloping, constantly turning line seems a likely way to achieve it. In short, either explanation makes fair sense and neither is entirely satisfactory, though the second presupposes less breach with ordinary ways of fighting than the first.

So much for 'contests in battle-array'. The next division of warfare, the placing of troops in ambush, so as to leap out suddenly on the enemy, is something that Anna would be sure to admire. Indeed it was such an important part of Byzantine military science as to compensate, in one instance at least, for incompetence in personal fighting.⁴ Feigned flights were of course closely connected with it. As early as his second campaign we find Alexius practising this against Bryennius; he 'pretended to fly, drawing the enemy by little and little into the ambushes'.⁵ At Larissa 'he toiled all day, calling on God for aid, [pondering] how he should lay his ambush',⁶ and the successful plan is later described in minute detail.⁷ Robert Guiscard treacherously puts men in ambush to seize an unsus-

¹ *Hist.* V. 71.

² See above on the soldier's natural instinct.

³ XV. 7, p. 481.

⁴ XIV. 1, p. 420. 'To place an ambush to the best advantage' is given in V. 3, p. 130, as one of the parts of military training.

⁵ I. 6, p. 15.

⁶ V. 5, p. 138.

⁷ V. 5, pp. 139, 140. In V. 6, p. 140, he issues from his night-long ambuscade and attacks Bohemund's undefended camp.

pecting friend;¹ by lying in wait the Patzinaks deal destruction to Alexius' Archontopoules, and the Turks to the Crusaders.² The setting of ambushes (an art in which they were sorely deficient) as well as watchfulness against Turkish tricks is strongly enjoined on these same Crusaders by Alexius,³ who himself had in past times 'worked for the destruction' of the Patzinaks δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν καὶ λόχων, that is to say, by never coming to close quarters, but going ahead to all the towns the enemy wished to take and waylaying him on the road.⁴ 'Streams and marshy places' help in this matter,⁵ and even the worst defeat may be transformed into success by 'men lying in wait' to attack the conquerors and 'turn back the flight' of their own men.⁶ It is one of the glories of Alexius' new παράταξις in his last Turkish campaign that Monolycus' ambuscades of light-armed men wholly fail to surprise or break the solid Greek lines.⁷ The two verbs used by Anna are 'to set λόχους' and ἐφεδρεύειν, both amounting to the same thing. Ships lie in wait for hostile fleets⁸ with more or less vigilance and efficiency, and the same methods are practised on land by the troops whom Alexius sends ostensibly to meet, and really to mount guard over, the Crusaders.⁹

Before we leave this subject we may refer to the vigorous warning given by Alexius in his first poem to his son John against the dangers of an ambush,¹⁰ and may also point out that in Byzantine as well as Classical Greek λόχος has two meanings, 'ambush' and 'body of troops', the latter not invariably uniform in number.¹¹ Even in the *Alexias* it is sometimes doubtful whether a commander 'sets' an ambush, or 'draws up' his troops in line, but in the *Hyle* of Bryennius we find two plain instances of the two different meanings. Once he talks of some one 'falling into an ambush' (λόχοις περιπεσών),¹² once of a commander 'drawing up his army by companies' (παρατάττων τὸν στρατὸν . . . κατὰ λόχους).¹³ To establish one's own main body

¹ I. 11, p. 25.

² VII. 7, p. 204; X. 6, pp. 286, 287. The Turks fear the like for themselves (XI. 2, p. 315).

³ X. 11, p. 305; 10, p. 301; XI. 6, p. 325.

⁴ VII. 6, p. 203.

⁵ I. 11, p. 25; XI. 2, p. 315.

⁶ VII. 11, p. 217.

⁷ XV. 5, p. 474. Before this, in XIV. 5, p. 440, a Turkish ambush proves disastrous to the imperial troops under Camytzes.

⁸ X. 7 and XIII. 7.

⁹ X. 5, p. 285; 7, pp. 288, 289; 9, p. 294. Forays were to be prevented 'by moderate shootings at a distance' on the part of the Greeks.

¹⁰ *Mous. Alex.* I. 262.

¹¹ See on Phalanx and Parataxis, p. 393, notes 7, 8 above.

¹² *Hyle*, I. 11, p. 25. This is the usual meaning throughout the book.

¹³ *Ibid.* I. 17, p. 30.

firmly as against surprises and to hamper the enemy by men placed in ambush were the two sides of a careful general's preparation for action.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

61. SIEGES: DURAZZO

COMING to Anna's third division of military activities, it hardly needs remarking that fortresses and sieges play a very great part in Byzantine warfare.¹ Durazzo twice over, Castoria, Nicaea, Antioch, Laodicea, Tyre, all provide Anna with material of this nature, and it is clear that to her this is the most interesting side of military operations.

The two sieges of Durazzo (in classical language Dyrrachium or Epidamnus) occupy twenty-two chapters wholly or in part,² to say nothing of many passing allusions. A glance at the map will show why from mere situation the place was important,³ but Anna is at pains to tell us with what peculiar strength nature and art had endowed it, though curiously enough she never speaks of the Via Egnatia, of which one branch starting from it made its position unique. She first mentions this town as having the rebel Bryennius for its Duke,⁴ then as 'the metropolis of Illyrium' from which as his starting-point the next rebel, Basilacius, advanced to Thessalonica.⁵ The note of its great significance in civil war is thus at once struck. But even greater is its role when foreign invaders attack the Empire. Its capture is the prime object of Robert Guiscard in the first Norman invasion, and of Bohemund in the third. Robert plans to besiege it by sea and land, and undeterred by a shipwreck establishes his troops, augmented by those who had previously crossed under Bohemund, 'inside the ruined walls of the city called of old Epidamnus'.⁶ This seems to Anna a good occasion for a display of learning. Rather surprisingly she never alludes to the sinister importance of Epidamnus in connexion with the

¹ Leo, in his *Tactica* (XV. 2), speaks most respectfully of siegecraft. He says: 'A siege requires the bravery of a general, and a mind sharp and strategic and sensible, and preparations of engines, and security (*ἀσφάλεια*) in sitting down against a town or fortress or stronghold, and that this security shall be produced with much attention' (*προσοχή*).

² III. 12; IV. 1-8; V. 1; VI. 6; XII. 9; XIII. 2-11.

³ L. Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, p. 363, says it was in the Normans' eyes 'la clef de l'empire grec'.

⁴ I. 4, p. 9. 'Using as his base the city of Durazzo he overran all the West.'

⁵ I. 7, p. 17.

⁶ III. 12.

Peloponnesian War,¹ but begins its history with speaking of its destruction in the wars between Pyrrhus and the Romans.²

The siege of Durazzo is then minutely described, and Alexius instructs his brother-in-law the governor George Palaeologus, who has succeeded the traitor Monomachatus, to crown the walls with unnailed boards, so as to give no footing for enemies mounting on scaling ladders.³ Other instruments of siegecraft are mentioned, not for the first or the last time in Anna's history: wooden turrets and 'stone-throwing instruments', and siege-engines (ἐλεπόλεις) in general.⁴ When in addition they see the formidable army of the besiegers encamped round 'the whole circuit of the walls', panic almost seizes the garrison, who realize that this is no mere raid, but a serious attempt of the Normans upon the Empire. We here get one of the many instances where parleying takes place between besieged and besiegers; the wall is so low that men can speak 'from above' and be heard below, and a man paraded round the exterior can be seen clearly enough to be detected as an impostor⁵ by those within. The siege goes on, and the naval victories of the Venetians help Palaeologus little. Famine and disease beset the Normans,⁶ but in spite of this the Emperor, when finally

¹ Thuc. *Hist.* I. 24 sqq.

² On this Heuzey (*op. cit.* p. 372) comments: 'Rien . . . ne vient confirmer la tradition byzantine sur l'abandon de la place à la suite des expéditions de Pyrrhus.' Indeed references to it in Polybius, Plautus, Diodorus Siculus, and Catullus give reason for supposing that its career of maritime importance was never interrupted.

Of 'Amphion and Zethus' we have spoken on p. 200.

³ III. 9, p. 92. This seems to have been made permanent, for these 'un-nailed' boards reappear in the second siege of Durazzo (XIII. 10, p. 403), once more aimed at foiling men who should mount διὰ κλιμάκων. On this second occasion the boards chiefly harass the Greeks, as they prevent the besieged from 'bending over the wall' to talk to their friends. It is possible that Anna makes a mistake in bringing in the device twice, and that it really only served once. In that case this affords another instance of defective revision.

⁴ II. 8, p. 61; IV. 1-4; VI. 13, p. 180; VII. 3, p. 194; XIV. 1, p. 421, and often elsewhere.

⁵ IV. 1, p. 104. So at Adrianople (X. 4, p. 279) and Tyragium (XV. 6, p. 480). In II. 9, p. 62, Gilpractus the leader of Botaniates' German troops ἀνωθεν προκίψας promises John Ducas Caesar to betray Constantinople to the Comneni. Cf. XI. 4, p. 318. In XI. 6, p. 324, men are let down over the battlements of Antioch by cords.

⁶ In IV. 3, pp. 107, 108, we learn that Robert's ships were 'anchored in the Freshwater River' (εἰς τὸν Γλυκὸν ποταμόν) near which his troops were encamped. Heuzey points out (*op. cit.* pp. 365 sqq.) that this clearly refers to the exit of the waters of the lagoon (see p. 400 below) under the bridge into the Bay of Durazzo. He says: 'Le mot γλυκὺς s'appliquait particulièrement aux eaux de mer plus ou moins adoucies par l'écoulement des ruisseaux et des rivières, comme le montre Strabon (324) à propos du γλυκὺς λιμὴν situé sur la même côte de l'Adriatique.' Strabo's Sweet Harbour was the outlet of the river Acheron (modern Gurla), and as it is almost 200 miles South of Durazzo cannot be, as is said in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, the place where Robert harboured his ships. The name is (as one might expect) a common one. We may compare the 'Sweet Waters of Europe' and the 'Sweet Waters of Asia', both near Constantinople.

able to take the field in person, is met before he reaches Thessalonica with the news that his deputy has been hard pressed by the besiegers.¹

Further details afterwards come to Alexius, how Robert had collected 'much material in the plain' (probably brushwood for burning the town) and had encamped his main body about a bowshot from the walls of Durazzo, posting other soldiers 'in the mountains and glades and heights'. After a brief encampment by the river Charzanes (now Erzan) Alexius hurries forward to the church of St. Nicolas 'four stadia away from Durazzo'. Here he studies 'the lie of the land' and the following description follows. 'There was a neck of land stretching out from Dalmatia to the sea, ending in a promontory like a peninsula (*χερσόνησος*) on which the aforesaid church had been built. Now the slope of this neck, sinking gradually into the plain in the direction of Durazzo, has on the left the sea and on the right a lofty overhanging mountain.' Here Alexius 'brought together all his forces (*τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἅπαν*) and pitched his camp', sending for Palaeologus, who arrives 'with ships of war'.

At this point it may be well to consider the geographical situation. At first sight it is tempting to take Anna's 'neck' as the land on whose South point Durazzo stands, land running parallel to the coast (from which it is separated by a lagoon), and to believe that Alexius' camp was near the neck's Northern extremity. Both on the North and on the South the lagoon is cut off from the sea by a low-lying bar, but whereas the Southern one has been pierced to give an exit for the lagoon waters and contains a bridge, the Northern bar has been left solid, and at its Western extremity ends in the hilly point of Cape Pali (Anna's Pallia or Pales).² This point in its turn is connected with the 'neck' by a strip of sand. On Cape Pali we should then place the church of St. Nicolas. Roughly speaking we get a parallelogram sloping from South-East to North-West, the four sides being the coast, the 'neck', and the two bars; Cape Pali is at the North-West angle, Durazzo at the South-West. As a matter of fact the 'neck', which is a mere strip when it leaves the headland of Cape Pali, expands Southwards from a point about four miles North of the town, until when it nears the Bay of Durazzo it is sufficiently broad for a range of hills on the West along the sea, and on the East (near the lagoon) for flat fields capable of holding Robert's army of 30,000 men.

But tempting as this identification is, this particular 'neck' does not fit in with Anna's description nor with the rest of the

¹ IV. 4, p. 110.

² IV. 2, p. 105; X. 7, p. 289.

story. If we suppose ourselves to be looking North from its Southern extremity, the sea is indeed on the left, but there is no 'lofty overhanging mountain' on the right; all the 'mountains' on this neck are on the West side and overhang the sea. If we turn round and look South from the neck's Northern end, the mountains on the right are there, but not the sea on the left, and even if we strain 'sea' into meaning 'lagoon' and suppose that after Robert crossed the bridge to go to mass in St. Theodore's church he had to cross back again to fight,¹ we must admit the impossibility of Alexius' whole army after its defeat getting away by the two narrow strips which prevent Cape Pali from being an island. Furthermore, the name of 'San Nicolo' is assigned in sixteenth-century maps to a church *on the mainland* East of Durazzo beyond the bridge, and William of Apulia further localizes it by saying it was near Petra,² the important 'κλείσουρα'³ close to the bay, where Pompey set up his camp.⁴ We are therefore reluctantly constrained to follow Heuzey in making Anna's 'neck' and her 'promontory like a peninsula' into something much tamer, namely 'le chaîon montagneux' on the mainland 'ayant à gauche la mer et à droite des crêtes plus élevées'.⁵ Viewed across the lagoon this chain does 'sink gradually into the plain, in the direction of Durazzo', and on these foothills Alexius must have pitched his camp. Palaeologus could obviously not reach him by land, as Robert's army lay between Durazzo and the mainland, but though Heuzey describes the Norman as 'maître de la mer', he could not patrol the whole of the open roadstead which is Durazzo's only harbour.⁶ So by sea Palaeologus reaches Alexius and a council of war is held. The older men advise trusting to famine to overcome the enemy; 'and by shooting at a distance to hem in' (στενοχωρήσαι) Robert; the younger men clamour for battle, and Rehoboam-like Alexius yields to them. But he endeavours to secure success by dividing his attacking forces into two (ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐπεισπεσεῖν) and sending some through the lagoon (τῶν ἀλυκῶν)

¹ IV. 5, p. 114.

² Gul. Apul. *Rer. Normun.* IV. 460 sqq.

³ XIII. 5, p. 391.

⁴ Caes. *de Bello Civ.* III. 42.

⁵ Heuzey, *op. cit.* p. 368. He truly comments on Anna's 'exagération à en faire une presqu'île ou un promontoire'. It makes us feel that her topographical knowledge in this campaign is disappointingly hazy, when we consider that Durazzo was the scene of her hero-uncle's finest exploits and that these must certainly have been among the 'narratives' which she got from his own lips (XIV. 7, p. 447).

⁶ Gul. Apul., *op. cit.* V. 305, says, 'Castrorum dederat tutum vicinia portum', but unless we apply 'portus' to the almost landlocked lagoon (see again below) this may be taken as mere exaggeration on the part of Robert's admiring chronicler. Both Anna and William would seem to have drawn on the Bishop of Bari's envoy to Robert (III. 12, p. 99).

to take the Normans in the rear. These land on the West side of the lagoon and attack Robert's camp on the East of the town, where the suburb of Exo-Bazari now stands. Simultaneously a sortie is made by the garrison. On the mainland East of the bridge matters at first go well for the Greeks. The right wing of the Normans is repulsed and driven into the sea by the Varangian Guard, and is with difficulty rallied by Robert's warlike wife Gaita. But this is the last success Alexius was destined to win that day. The Varangian Guard, marching on foot in his van, advance 'through inexperience and hotheadedness' too far from the main body: they are suddenly attacked by Robert's horsemen, and those that are not killed in the charge are burnt in the church of St. Michael, which Heuzey locates in the village of Shimmihl, the Albanian form of the saint's name. From this moment all goes ill for the Greeks. Many fall in fight, the Turkish mercenaries fly, and the Dalmatian allies march off. Finally, Alexius with the remnants of his defeated army gets back to the river Charzanes¹ and thence across the mountains to Achrida. 'Such', says Oman,² 'was the fate of the last important attempt made by infantry to face the feudal array of the eleventh century. . . . The supremacy of the feudal horseman was finally established.'

The next move in the game is that 'those inside Durazzo, because most of them were settlers from Melpha and Venice',³ open the gates and let the Normans in. It may have been in punishment for its treachery that Alexius later granted financial privileges in Durazzo to those other Venetians who had helped him so valiantly at sea.⁴ At any rate, immediately after Robert's death we find the town brought back to the Empire by Alexius' assiduous diplomacy and held for several years by Irene's brother John Ducas, as commandant.⁵ He is followed by

¹ The marshes and swamps near this river (XIII. 5, p. 392) may have hindered the Norman pursuit.

² *Op. cit.* I, p. 167.

³ In VI. 6, p. 163, men from Amalfi are mentioned, but it is probable that Anna means not two towns, but one, and that one Amalfi. Heuzey says of Anna's period 'Nous trouvons la ville de Durazzo . . . servant comme autrefois de point de rencontre entre l'Orient et l'Occident. Sa population, comme celle de l'antique Dyrrhachium, est mêlée d'étrangers et surtout d'Italiens' (*op. cit.*, p. 363). See p. 446, note 2, below.

⁴ VI. 5, p. 161.

⁵ VI. 6, p. 163; VII. 9, p. 209. Heuzey remarks of these dukes (*loc. cit.*) that 'leur puissance qui s'étend sur toute l'Illyrie tend à en faire des rebelles et des compétiteurs dangereux', so that we four times find Alexius putting some of his family in this important position. As to John Ducas, we must take Anna's 'eleven years' as a mistake for 'seven', i.e. 1085-92, unless we consider that the word *ἐνδιατρίψας* in VII. 9, p. 209, partly refers to residence under Norman domination and not solely to his years of command.

Alexius' doubtfully loyal and militarily unsuccessful nephew John, son of Isaac the Sebastocrator. Finally the 'Dukedom' passes to this John's younger brother Alexius,¹ who defends the town against Bohemund,² while the Normans ravage the country round, and the admiral Contostephanus reprehensibly lets reinforcements for their army slip by him at sea.³

It is at this juncture that Anna thinks fit to portray the situation and strength of Durazzo (περί τε τῆς θέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας),⁴ this 'ancient Hellenic city' with which we have been familiar since her first Book. Her description of the Adriatic is accurate (from the point of view of a vessel coming from the South) in so far as the coast does bend slightly East as well as North in the immediate neighbourhood of Durazzo. But the whole trend of the Dalmatian shore is from South-East to North-West, and this we certainly should not infer from her words. More accurately she brings in the course of the river Drymon⁵ (now the Black Drin) in a hundred outlets from Lake Lychnitis or Achrida, through many windings into the Adriatic at Elissus, which, as a modern map with altitudes clearly shows, 'looks down as one might say across the plains to Durazzo', the coastlands between the two being flat and full of streams. It stood on a ridge, as a μετέωρον πολίχνιον καὶ πάντῃ δυσάλωτον, and was therefore at first able to 'give great assistance to Durazzo by land and sea'.⁶ Durazzo indeed needed assistance, for Bohemund 'with skill exceeding that of Demetrius Poliorcetes brought all mechanical devices' (literally 'travail-pains', ὠδῖνες) 'to bear on this town'. Like his father Robert, he destroys his ships to show there is to be no thought of return.⁷ His camp is pitched 'opposite the gate opening towards the East, above which there is a bronze horseman'⁸ (very much on the same

¹ XII. 4, p. 356.

² XII. 9; XIII. 2-11.

³ XII. 8, p. 366: 9, p. 370; XIII. 2, p. 381.

⁴ XII. 9.

⁵ XII. 9, p. 371. As is the case with many near-Eastern rivers (e.g. the Hermus and Maeander in Anatolia) the river Drin has apparently been known to change its course. The map of Turkey in the 11th edition of the *Encycl. Brit.* makes it flow out considerably to the North of Alessio (Elissus); in the *Times Atlas* published after the war it passes right by it. The statement that Lake Achrida (ancient Lychnitis) had been drained by the Bulgarian King Samuel into 'a hundred ditches, which we call bridges (γεφύρας)', has caused Du Cange to emend the text to στρογγάς (cf. V. 4, p. 135), a local word for 'ponds', from which the modern town of Struga, at the place where the Drin leaves the lake, gets its name. But surely if Liddell and Scott admit that γέφυρα in Homer may mean not only 'bridge' but 'dam', and after Homer 'tunnel', it is not much stretch to make it mean 'ditch' or 'canal', just as the word 'dyke' may be used either for an embankment or for the water kept in thereby. See Murray's Dictionary.

⁶ As it is not mentioned after this passage we may fairly assume that Bohemund was not long in either capturing it or blocking its activities.

⁷ XIII. 2, p. 380; cf. IV. 5, p. 114.

⁸ XIII. 2, p. 380.

ground that his father had occupied sixteen years before), and he gradually draws closer his cordon round the town. The little careful touches which Anna here bestows on her picture of the campaign, giving gates and statues and public buildings¹ in the city, remind us that it had once been the sphere of influence of her uncle and informant George Palaeologus.² But even apart from personal reasons for interest, Anna must have felt as we do that it was a notable siege.

For a whole winter and summer Bohemund, after making a careful study of the ground, 'was constructing military engines, preparing penthouses' (literally 'tortoises') 'to bear towers and battering-rams, and some for digging and others for filling up' (*sc.* trenches).³ Then with famine and disease oppressing him he put them into use, and Anna gives a vivid account of three separate operations, though in one place she finds his contrivance 'hard to explain'. First, on the Eastern side of the town by a device 'indescribably wonderful' he applies battering-rams swung from a leather-covered penthouse that had been rolled close up under the walls and fixed in the ground. But the garrison throw open their gates in scorn at 'this theatrical siege-making' and burn the penthouse by fire which they hurl from above (Anna, we may remark, cannot resist so good an occasion for a Homeric quotation and a piece of archaeological information).⁴ Next Bohemund makes a mine, carefully secured from attack or collapse by a penthouse above and props below. Once more the historian feels bound to describe τὰ τῆς θέσεως τοῦ τόπου⁵ which made mining possible, how on the North side the town wall, near the 'ducal seat' or Praetorium, 'was on a mound, I mean not a rocky mound but an earthy'. But Duke Alexius countermines and drives back the besiegers, on their final breaking through, by fire blown in their faces as though against 'a swarm of bees'. Thirdly Anna tells of Bohemund's great and wonderful wooden turret⁶ that had taken a year to build, prefacing the story with two interesting facts as to the

¹ e.g. 'The ducal seat which is called Praetorium' (XIII. 3, p. 382). This knowledge of the internal topography of the town makes all the more strange her ignorance as to that of the neighbourhood outside. See p. 401, note 5, above.

² XIV. 7, p. 447.

³ XIII. 2, p. 380.

⁴ XIII. 3. The covering of the penthouse is 'ἐντραβόειον' as is said in Homer', and the battering-ram was invented at Gades.

⁵ XIII. 3, p. 382. Heuzey (*op. cit.* p. 365) says that the Romans 'dans leurs camps retranchés, qui sont devenus souvent le modèle de leurs places fortes, plaçaient ordinairement le praetorium et la porte prétorienne sur le front même du camp, sur la face la plus accessible'. It is interesting that the Roman name Praetorium should have survived to Anna's days.

⁶ XIII. 3, pp. 383 sqq.

construction (σχήμα) of the Durazzo fortifications. In the first place 'its wall is not so high as the towers' (literally 'yields a little to the towers', ὑποχαλᾶται τοῖς πύργοις), 'but the towers rise in a circle on the outside of it to a height of over eleven feet, having an ascent by a spiral stair and strengthened with battlements'; secondly the wall is so broad that 'horsemen even more than four in number could ride along it safely shoulder to shoulder'. As to Bohemund's turret, it seems to have been an elaborate structure in several stories, intended 'to overtop the height of the city's towers by five or six cubits', and Anna is amazed at the 'optical' (we should be inclined to say 'trigonometrical') skill displayed by 'these barbarians' in their calculations. It is rolled up on wheels which are afterwards removed, and is full of men who in addition to shooting 'constant arrows' are to lower gangways on to the walls. But Duke Alexius' men make a scaffolding over against it, even taller than itself, inside the wall and discharge liquid fire therefrom. Not content with this they heap up in the space between the town and the besiegers' erection 'all sorts of inflammable stuff', saturated with oil, and to this they set fire, so that far from being able to bridge the chasm with gangways, the Normans are mostly burnt inside their own turret walls. Anna concludes her tale with the words: 'So much then for the gigantic turret and the siege by the barbarians.'¹

During the rest of Book XIII we realize that the siege of Durazzo goes on, and we are never told in so many words that it is raised, though this follows as a natural consequence from the treaty between Alexius and Bohemund.² It cannot however have been a very close beleaguering, for the Emperor gets letters from the commandant Duke Alexius,³ even before Bohemund's overtures for peace are forwarded by nephew to uncle.⁴ Finally the Norman allows one of the imperial envoys to enter and see the commandant, who apparently had never wanted for supplies,⁵ and with this ends Anna's story of Dyrrhachium.

¹ XIII. 4, p. 386.

² XIII. 12.

³ XIII. 7, p. 396. He like Lantulph complains to the Emperor of the admiral Isaac Contostephanus for negligence in allowing soldiers and supplies to reach Bohemund by sea.

⁴ XIII. 8, p. 399.

⁵ An apparent inaccuracy occurs in XIII. 7, p. 396, where we are told that though the South winds were favourable and the North winds unfavourable to ships coming from Lombardy to Illyria, yet 'the South wind blowing violently did not allow [the ships] to come to shore at Durazzo'. As the roadstead at Durazzo (which has no real harbour) faces South, this seems strange till we remember that, as Heuzey (*op. cit.*, p. 360) says, such a roadstead could only protect from the North and East winds, and that 'dès que le temps menace de tourner au Sud-Ouest ou

It has been minutely dealt with here, as affording an excellent instance of several of her characteristics. Interest in siegecraft, the desire to display historical knowledge, a keen eye for topography, and a certainty that her father's advice was always sound, such are the things we especially notice in the long-drawn-out narrative.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

62. CHRONOLOGY OF THE DURAZZO CAMPAIGN

THE sieges of Durazzo lead us naturally to a question of chronology, for the events of Robert Guiscard's first campaign in Illyria are in many ways hard to arrange in order.

The date of his departure from Italy for Durazzo is not uniformly given. There is no particular difficulty in supposing that he 'planned'¹ to start in winter (deciding to sail from Brindisi to Durazzo, because 'he preferred the quickest journey, . . . for it was the winter season and the sun . . . was drawing near to Capricorn'²), but did not as a matter of fact start till later. Now the actual crossing, the news of which had reached Alexius in Constantinople by August 1081,³ is first placed by Anna 'in the season of summer, when the sun had already passed Cancer and was hastening to Leo when, men say, is the rising of the dog-star'⁴ (i.e. about twenty-three days or more after the sum-

au Sud, l'ancrage n'est plus tenable dans cette baie ouverte'. Ships that cannot be hauled on shore must get away. It is in connexion with the grave question of winds that Alexius makes a map of the Adriatic for his admiral, Isaac Contostephanus. A strong South wind was dreaded in one's teeth at sea, or as driving one too vehemently on shore. To this day the roadstead of Durazzo has no moles or breakwaters, and Heuzey tells us that soundings reveal no traces of any ancient construction of that sort. Ships going South from Durazzo to Avlona would probably row close to the shore.

¹ ἐμελλε, ἐβουλευσατο (I. 16, p. 37).

² i.e. to the winter solstice of December 21.

³ In II. 10, p. 64, we hear that Alexius took Constantinople 'in the month of April 6589 of the 4th indiction', i.e. 1081, and in III. 6, p. 83, 'in August of the same indiction' he got the news both of the crossing and of Robert's 'defeat' by the Venetians (IV. 2, p. 105; 4, p. 108), news which caused him to 'leave Constantinople at once in the month of August of the 4th indiction'.

⁴ III. 12, p. 98. See p. 212, note 5, above. Murray's Dictionary, s.v. *Dog-days*, says that in the latitude of Greenwich the cosmical rising of Procyon ('the Fore-runner Dog') in Canis Minor takes place about July 27, and in the latitude of the Mediterranean countries somewhat later; while that of Sirius ('the Dog' itself) in Canis Major occurs (in the two latitudes respectively) about August 11 and somewhat earlier, the heliacal risings being in both instances a few days after the cosmical. The *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. *Canis Major*, quotes a writer of 1675 as saying that 'the greater

mer solstice of June 21, which would make it July 14 at the earliest), so that his shipwrecked forces were saved from starvation by the fact that 'the corn-meadows and fields and orchards were laden with produce';¹ but it is also said by her to have been so much earlier that his forces were already encamped outside Durazzo 'on June 17 of the 4th indiction',² after he had had a seven-days' rest from the effects of the shipwreck.³ We can only reconcile the two statements by believing that Anna used 'the rising of the dog-star' vaguely for 'the height of summer', and applied it to the second week in June.

This point is however a small one compared to the next discrepancy. As soon as Alexius hears of Robert's invasion he summons Turkish and Venetian allies,⁴ orders the Grand Domestic Pacurianus to follow him, and starts from Constantinople 'in the month of August of the 4th indiction'.⁵ He then marshals his heterogeneous army (palace-guards, Macedonians, Thessalonians, Turks from Achrida, Manichaeans, Vestiaries, Franks and Varangians), chooses his officers, goes to Thessalonica, parleys with Robert, summons Palaeologus from the besieged city, and fights a disastrous battle on a certain October 18. Now Anna tells us it was 'the 18th of October of the 5th indiction', which, as the indiction began with the Byzantine year on September 1, would be our October 18, 1081. But to this date there are several objections. In the first place, could a new Emperor, who had mounted a not very stable throne in April, not only establish his position at home but

part of the Antients' assigned the heliacal rising of the dog-star to 'the time of the sun's first entering into Leo', which Pliny, Varro and Columella variously put at twenty-three, twenty-nine, and thirty days after the summer solstice of June 21, i.e. July 14, 20, and 21. (Murray's Dictionary, s.v. *Cancer* and *Leo*, says the sun enters Cancer on June 21, and Leo about July 21.) This would seem to fit Procyon better than Sirius, but we must remember that owing to the precession of the equinoxes 'all the phenomena now take place later in the year than in ancient times' (*op. cit.* s.v. *Dog-days*). Furthermore, Anna is far more likely to have used 'the dog-star' to mean Sirius than Procyon, as the classical writers ascribed to the former potent and even baleful properties, connected with the 'dry, hot, and dusty season' of the (very variously calculated) Dog-days (*Encycl. Brit.*, *loc. cit.*), and cf. Callicles' poem XXXIII, possibly spurious, where the 'Dog-Star which burns the whole earth up', is said to 'run alongside of the sun' in August). In any case she can hardly be referring to any date earlier than July, in which month Lup. Protosp. (Muratori, *SS. Rer. Ital.* V, p. 451) also says Robert landed. The *Anon. Bar. Chron.*, however (Muratori, *op. cit.* V. p. 153), says he left Corfu ten days before the end of May, and Malaterra (*Hist. Sic.* III, ch. 24) gives May as the date of his arrival at Otranto, but does not specify when he left it.

¹ III. 12, p. 99.

² IV. 1, p. 102: 2, p. 105.

³ III. 12, p. 99.

⁴ IV. 2, p. 105. Chalandon (*op. cit.* p. 71, note 3) thinks the negotiations with Venice must have taken place earlier. See p. 386, note 7, above.

⁵ IV. 4, p. 108. This is, as we said above, August 1081.

collect a considerable army and march it across the Balkan peninsula before October 18 of the same year? In the second place (unless we believe with Chalandon that Anna got her dates at this point entirely mixed), we can hardly put aside the passage where, after describing Robert's first naval defeat by the Venetians (of which Alexius had heard before leaving Constantinople),¹ she tells us that Robert, prevented 'during the winter' from launching his ships, and cut off by the combined Greek and Venetian fleets from receiving reinforcements or supplies from Lombardy, was attacked at sea, 'when spring was already at hand'² and the raging of the sea had ceased', by the imperial navies and again defeated. 'Then Robert realized that he must draw up his whole fleet on dry land', an operation which is later described as having them 'anchored in the River Glykys'; this was undoubtedly the exit for the lagoon waters—referred to above—into the Durazzo bay, near the flat land where his troops were encamped East of the town.³ Two months of naval preparations at Hiericho (the ancient Oricum some seventy miles farther South) are rather vaguely mentioned, and the Normans are said to have lost 10,000 men from famine and disease in the course of three months. At any rate, Anna must be writing about the summer, as she says that the 'Freshwater River' dried up so much that Robert had great trouble in refloating his ships and getting them down to the Bay.⁴ Thus if we accept the facts of this chapter at all, we are

¹ IV. 2, p. 105, and IV. 4, p. 108. Chalandon gives July 1081 for the date of this battle (*op. cit.* p. 74, note 5).

² Du Cange's note on these words in IV. 3, p. 107 B is 'Anno Scilicet MCLXXXII', obviously a misprint for MLXXXII. This second naval battle between the Venetians and the Normans at Durazzo is said by Chalandon (p. 91, note 3) to be mentioned by no other historian, and he therefore assumes that Anna not only confused the dates but exaggerated a skirmish between a few boats into a real battle. This seems to depend on the assumption that the Venetian fleet returned to Venice directly after the battle of July 1081. This is not stated by Anna, who merely says that they repaired to their own vessels, and after resting several days sent envoys to Alexius with news of their victory. The ships are first described as *ὑποκεχωρηκότες* just before the fall of Durazzo (V. 1, p. 125). The envoys were sent back to Venice with money for the doge and 'those ruling under him', but there seems no reason to suppose that the whole fleet returned home too. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, we may take as true Anna's narrative in IV. 3, p. 107, namely that throughout the winter of 1081-2 the Venetian fleet aided by a Greek fleet, now first mentioned, with its commander Maurice, blockaded Robert's army in Durazzo, and in the spring of 1082 seriously defeated his forces at sea.

³ IV. 3, pp. 107, 108; p. 399, note 4, above.

⁴ IV. 3. The country between Durazzo and Hiericho was probably all in Robert's power, thanks to Bohemund's successes (I. 14, p. 35) so that intercourse between the two towns was possible both by sea and land. Anna evidently admires Robert's ingenuity in making a channel; Heuzey however (*op. cit.* p. 366) says 'ce travail ne dut être qu'un jeu pour les Normands habitués aux estuaires de l'Océan'.

bound to believe that over a year, from the summer of 1081 to the October of 1082, elapsed between Robert's arrival at Durazzo and his activities on land, and that the Emperor's defeat and the fall of the town as narrated in the subsequent chapters both occurred in the autumn of the second year. If so, we shall have to emend Anna's date for the battle¹ from '5th indiction' (1081) to '6th indiction' (1082). The chief Western authority for the date of the battle is the *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, where we read in truly remarkable Latin as follows:²

Mill. LXXXII. Ind. V. Venit Alexius Imp. et commisit bellum cum Robb. Dux fer. III. in die S. Luce Apostoli et Evangeliste; et terga vertit ipse Imp. vicitque ipse Dux.

As the chronicler begins his year on September 1, he gives to the last four months of every year a date greater by one than in our reckoning, e. g. his October 1082 would be our October 1081,³ and his year 1082 would end on our August 31, 1082. This would seem to show that Anna and he both agree in placing the battle on October 18, 1081. But he distinctly says that it was fought 'feria III', which means 'Tuesday', whereas

¹ IV. 6, p. 114. Curiously enough Du Cange in his note on IV. 6, p. 116 B, says of the Durazzo battle 'Errat Anna, cum ait initium Indict. 4, nam hoc anno mense Octobri currebat Indictio 5'. In the editio princeps of 1651 from which Du Cange got his text, Anna says Ind. 5 in this passage, so Du Cange must have made a confusion between this sentence and the one in IV. 4, p. 108, where Alexius starts from Constantinople in the August of Ind. 4.

² Muratori, *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 154; and cf. Lup. Protosp. (*ibid.* p. 45). Malaterra, in his *Hist. Sic.* (*ibid.* pp. 582-3), gives May 1081 for Robert's arrival at Otranto (III.24), mentions the battle of Durazzo as occurring in October without any year (III.27), and tells of the surrender of the town to Robert without month or year (III.28). Wm. of Apulia, in his *Hist. Normann.*, mentions the Durazzo battle without month or year. Petrus Diaconus (*Chronicon Casinense*, Bk. III, ch. 49, Muratori, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 465) says that 'in this year' (1081) Robert crossed from Italy. Then follows the statement that Alexius with 170,000 men was defeated by him. No year is given, and the numbers of the army are so fantastic as to vitiate the authority of the passage. Ordericus Vitalis (Pt. III, lib. 7, ch. 4, *P.L.* 188, col. 520) says of Robert and Durazzo that 'in fine mensis Junii urbem obsedit', without giving the year. After collecting a large army and sending messengers everywhere to get more men 'Mense Octobri Alexius Dyracio appropriavit' and his defeat follows, but here again no year is specified. In any case so much of Ordericus' information about the Emperor is incorrect (e.g. that he reigned thirty years instead of thirty-seven) or doubtful (e.g. that it was Raimundus Flandrensis who opened the gates of Constantinople to the Comneni when Anna says Gilpractus a German, II. 10; and that Alexius for twenty years was as kind to the daughters [plural] of Robert 'ac si ipse genuisset eas') that it would be unwise to pin our faith to any chronology of his, but in this instance he gives none. Zonaras, XVIII. 22, implies that the Durazzo battle was fought soon after Alexius' accession, but he is so hazy about Robert's movements that our confidence is shaken as to his whole story of the campaign.

³ The note in Muratori, *loc. cit.*, speaks of 'haec consueta nostro auctori annorum anticipatio, qui . . . exorditur ab septembre'.

in 1081 October 18 fell on a Monday, and not on a Tuesday till 1082.¹ His two indications of time are therefore incompatible; either he meant 'feria II', or the whole incident should be transferred to his next year, Mill. LXXXIII, Ind. VI, and belong in our reckoning to October 1082. Since this latter supposition fits in with what we have said above, first as to the inadequate time allowed for Alexius' military preparations between August and October of the same year, secondly as to the difficulty of explaining away Anna's circumstantial account of Robert's activities (or rather afflictions) in the winter and summer after the first naval battle,² we shall adopt it, with the necessary correction of Anna's ἐπινεμήσεως πέμπτης into ἑκτης in IV. 6, p. 114 D.

After this it is easy to assume that Anna, having brought Robert's adventures down to the summer of 1082 in the third chapter of Book IV, turns back in the fourth chapter without warning to her father's doings from the summer of 1081, when he had just heard of the first naval battle.³ If we accept August 1081 as the date for his leaving Constantinople, we must according to our recently explained theory give him a year for consolidating his army, probably at Thessalonica.⁴ In any case the battle was fought in the autumn (of whatever year), and Anna represents Robert as meaning to put off the resumption of the Durazzo siege 'till the following spring', when traitors within, hearing of his intentions as well as of his victory followed by the withdrawal of the Greek and Venetian fleets, saved him the trouble by surrendering the town. Robert enters, cares for his wounded, and 'because winter was already present at that juncture' resolves to spend it in collecting troops, and then 'when spring should appear' to attack the Emperor with vigour.⁵ Surely this points to the surrender of the town in

¹ See calendar in *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, Vol. I.

² By the autumn of 1082 Robert would have had time to recover from the naval disaster of July 1081 with its serious 'effet moral' on his tribute-paying Illyrian neighbours (even Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. 91, note 3, refers this first sea-fight to 1081, however mythical he may consider the second one), and to be in the formidable state of vigour described in IV. 4, p. 110, when 'putting in motion all his engines suitable to siege warfare Robert approached the walls' of Durazzo with 'noble soldiers' and was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Greek army (IV. 6-8).

³ Like many writers she often finishes off a subject, and then turns back to another which is anterior in time. So in Book V about Bohemund's campaign, in Book VI about Turkish affairs, and in Book XI, chs. 9 and 10 about events in the first Crusade. See Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

⁴ IV. 4, p. 110.

⁵ V. 1, p. 125. The phrases are: (1) εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔαρ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταμιεύεται, (2) ἐπεὶ χειμὼν ἤδη παρήν, (3) ἦρος ἐπιφανέντος, in a future sense. Similarly Alexius makes preparations to redeem his failure ἦρος φανέντος, also in a future sense (V. 1, p. 126). We find him at Achrida and Diabolis, probably at Thessalonica, and finally in Constantinople (V. 1, p. 126; 3, p. 131).

the autumn, and by our supposition it should be assigned to our October or November 1082. Chalandon¹ prefers to trust *Anon. Bar. Chron.* which gives the capture as occurring 'octavo die stante Feb.' of his year Mill. LXXXII.² As we have already detected one inaccuracy in this chronicler, and as another Latin authority³ gives the date as January 1082, we will venture to disbelieve both, and put the event in the autumn of that same year.

The difficulties of chronology are however not over. While preparations on both sides were proceeding, the king of Germany, instigated by Alexius, threatened Lombardy, to which Robert returned in haste⁴ leaving Bohemund to carry on the war. Robert's actions in Italy are recounted till he is joined at Salerno by Bohemund, who describes the events of the Illyrian campaign after his departure. This means that the story goes back to the immediate consequences of the fall of Durazzo. The sequence of events is not very clear, but the following suggestions may be made:

(1) That ch. 4 of Book V, which begins with Bohemund's arrival in Italy, carries us back (in consequence of what he told his father) to the events of April to June 1083, during the first three months of the Norman siege of Larissa. These events included Alexius' departure from Constantinople in May,⁵ and his two defeats by Bohemund.

(2) That ch. 5 returns from the Emperor, ingloriously sheltering in Constantinople, to Bohemund and his deeds of the preceding winter between November 1082 and April 1083, while Alexius was still collecting troops.⁶ The various towns which Bohemund took are enumerated. We hear of three months spent on the river Vardar, and then 'he goes to Larissa

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 83, note 4.

Muratori, *loc. cit.*

³ Lup. Protosp. (Muratori, *op. cit.* V. p. 45).

⁴ V. 3. Wm. of Apulia says Robert returned to Italy a year after he left it, and Lup. Protosp. under the year 1082 places his departure soon after the capture of Durazzo (Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. 84, note 7). Why should not the date be the late autumn of 1082, instead of April or May as Chalandon supposes? We may note that modern critics differ greatly on the subject. Chalandon says the spring of 1082; the *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. *Robert Guiscard*, says Robert was recalled from Illyria 'to the aid of Gregory VII, besieged in St. Angelo by Henry IV (June 1083)'; Tout (*Empire and Papacy*, p. 135) gives May 1084 as the date when Robert 'advanced to the walls of Rome' to help Gregory VII in consequence of 'Henry's invasion of Apulia'.

⁵ Chalandon (*op. cit.* p. 86, especially note 1) says May 1082; Du Cange, in his note on V. 4, p. 133 D, says May 1083, which we accept.

⁶ The way the story is told makes this break in the chronology natural. In V. 4, p. 133, the chief object is to confront Bohemund with Alexius; after the latter has returned to his capital, his daughter, in V. 5, p. 136, has leisure to go back to the Norman's achievements from the beginning of his sole authority.

intending to winter there'.¹ This may be explained as meaning that he hoped to capture it and make it his winter quarters for the next winter, 1083-4, but found it obstinately defended by the Greek commandant Leo Cephalas. At any rate he seems to have arrived there on April 23, 'on the very feast day of the great martyr George', and left troops there which carried on a six months' siege, while he himself went North-West again, to encounter Alexius in the two battles described in the previous chapter. After these defeats, Alexius acted as he had done before meeting Bohemund at all, and stayed to collect a large army at Constantinople.² Finally he succeeded in raising the siege of Larissa,³ in October 1083 if we accept Anna's statement of a six months' siege which began in April, and this date agrees with her incidental remark that Bohemund was eating grapes when the fortunes of war finally turned against him.⁴ This leaves two months (October-December 1083) for Alexius first to go to Thessalonica and stir up mutiny among the troops of Bohemund (who is therefore obliged to return to Italy for money),⁵ next to retake Castoria from the Norman Count Bryennius,⁶ and finally to reach Constantinople just in time for the birth of his daughter Anna on December 1 'of the 7th indiction', that is to say, December 1, 1083.⁷ We may note that this supremely important event is narrated by Anna in ch. 8 of Book VI, after one of her curious parentheses in which from VI. 5, p. 159, to VI. 7, p. 166, she gives the story of Robert Guiscard's second Illyrian campaign and death, from the autumn of 1084 to July 1085.

The whole question is a difficult one, which Riant⁸ hardly solves by contemptuously denouncing the 'cent preuves du sang-gène d'Anne Comnène à l'endroit de la chronologie'. If she is not impeccable, neither are the other chroniclers of her day, and we claim that it is possible, with the above emendation of one word in her text, to make out a consistent narrative. A

¹ V. 5, p. 137.

² V. 5, p. 137. *πλεῖον μισθοφορικόν*, including 5,000 picked Turks 'with highly experienced leaders'.

³ V. 6 and 7.

⁴ V. 6, p. 141.

⁵ V. 7, p. 143.

⁶ VI. 1.

⁷ VI. 8, p. 166. As we have said above (ch. 49) the trial of Italus in Indiction 5, of which we have the full report, is probably anterior to that described by Anna in V. 9. This second trial took place apparently during Alexius' stay in Constantinople in the summer of 1083, when he was collecting troops. Anna says he 'was planning against Bryennius', who was holding Castoria (V. 8, p. 143), and though we are only told of this general's command there after his valour at Larissa in October 1083 (V. 6, and 7, p. 143) it is quite conceivable that he was the commandant in the preceding spring after its capture, which occurred before Bohemund reached Larissa on 23 April 1083.

⁸ *Inventaire des lettres historiques des croisades*, Arch. de l'Or. lat. I, p. 88, note 40.

chronological table is appended below,¹ and the subject need not detain us further. It only remains to say that by a strange coincidence the chronology of Alexius' second campaign against Bohemund also presents a difficulty. Anna tells us that her father went to collect troops at Thessalonica to fight against Bohemund, 'in the month of September of the 14th indiction, being the twentieth year since he girded round him the reins of Empire'.² The indiction points correctly to the period between

¹ The suggested order of events is this:

I. 16. Dec. 1080.	Robert <i>plans</i> to cross.
II. 10. Apr. 1081.	Alexius takes Constantinople.
IV. 1 and 2. June, 1081.	Crossing of Robert.
IV. 2. July, 1081.	Venetian naval victory.
III. 6, and IV. 4. Aug. 1081.	Alexius leaves Constantinople to collect army at Thessalonica.
IV. 3. { Spring, 1082.	Second Venetian naval victory.
{ Summer, 1082.	Robert loses 10,000 men from disease.
IV. 6. Oct. 18, 1082.	Battle of Durazzo.
V. 1. Oct.-Nov. 1082.	Durazzo betrayed to Robert.
V. 5. Nov. 1082-Apr. 1083.	{ Bohemund at Achrida, three months on Vardar, Castoria, Tricala, Larissa.
V. 5. Apr. 23, 1083.	{ Alexius preparing army at Constantinople.
{ Apr.-May, 1083.	Bohemund leaves army to blockade Larissa.
V. 4. { May, 1083.	Bohemund besieges Joannina.
{ Summer, 1083.	Alexius leaves Constantinople.
V. 5. { Summer, 1083.	Alexius is twice defeated near Joannina, goes to Constantinople.
{ Summer, 1083.	Hears of siege of Larissa (six months).
V. 5-7 { Oct. 1083.	Bohemund goes back to Larissa.
{ Oct.-Dec. 1083.	Alexius raises siege of Larissa.
VI. 2. Oct.-Dec. 1083.	Returns to Thessalonica. Tampers with troops of Bohemund.
V. 4, and VI. 5. Oct.-Dec. 1083.	Takes Castoria.
VI. 8. Dec. 1, 1083.	Bohemund goes to Italy.
	Alexius returns to Constantinople.

In VI. 5. p. 159—VI. 7. p. 166, Anna gives the story of Robert's second Illyrian campaign, 1084-5, and death. From this parenthesis she goes back nearly two years—from July 1085 to December 1083. V. 5 is specially difficult in chronology.

(1) p. 136 c—p. 137 b. *Events of November, 1082—April 23, 1083.* (ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Ρομπ.—παραχειμάσαι βουλόμενος.)

(2) p. 137 c—d. *Idem*, involving a repetition as to Larissa. (καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν μεγαλόπ.—ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν.)

The mention in p. 137 c of Castoria, as if between Tricala and Larissa, is strange, for Castoria was really the head-quarters from which Bohemund started for Pelagonia. Tricala and Larissa (p. 137 b). We probably ought in p. 137 c to read instead of 'Castoria' 'Phaloria', a town West of Tricala or Tricca.

The first time Bohemund's arrival at Larissa is mentioned, it is said he 'wished to winter there', the second time the date, April 23, is given.

(3) p. 137 d. *Siege of Larissa: April-October, 1083.* (ὁ δὲ ταυτηνὴ—μησὶν ἐξ.)

(4) p. 137 a—end, p. 140. *Events of June-October, 1083.* (δηλοῖ δὲ—τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκεῖτο.)

The siege of Joannina by Bohemund, Alexius' hasty exit from Constantinople, May, 1083, two defeats near Joannina, and return to Constantinople are presupposed. The news of the siege of Larissa reaches him in Constantinople (June, 1083?), but he cannot start at once. After he does, the story goes straight on.

² XII. 3, p. 351.

September 1, 1105 and August 31, 1106, but the calculation from Alexius' accession would lead us to 1101. If 'and fourth' has not dropped out of the text after 'twentieth', we must conclude either that Anna made a slip of the pen, or that in characteristic fashion she used 'twentieth' loosely as a good round number.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

63. SIEGES AND FORTRESSES

BEFORE we entirely leave the subject of sieges, we may observe that the walls of medieval strongholds were clearly able to offer prolonged resistance to all the implements and engines known to contemporary siegecraft.¹ Famine was usually a more powerful foe than any *ἐλέπολις*, and many sieges of long duration figure in Anna's pages in addition to the two of Durazzo. That of Nicaea, a strongly fortified town with thick walls, undertaken by the Crusaders and the Greek troops jointly,² gives Alexius an opportunity for two characteristic acts. First he invents new siege-engines, 'most of them not according to the laws of mechanics, but according to other principles that seemed to him good, which indeed caused wonder to all the counts'.³ Next he holds secret negotiations with the Turks behind the backs of his allies, and by stealth introduces men into the city from boats.⁴ Once in, these men under Butumites win the inhabitants by promises from the Emperor and hold the town. A little later the siege of Antioch, fortified by towers and 'battlements and parapets', is a sort of turning-point in the

¹ Thus Larissa held out six months (V. 5, p. 137) and Acrunus three (XIV. 3, p. 431), Mitylene three (IX. 1, p. 246), and Adrianople forty-eight days (X. 3, p. 276; here, however, the besiegers probably had no engines).

² X. 11, p. 306; XI. 1. St. Gilles makes a brave but futile attempt against the Kneeling Tower with a two-storeyed turret (*μόσον*) constructed with skins and withes, the kind 'which those who have more experience in mechanics call a Tortoise'. Logs are thrust into holes made in the walls and set on fire, and the tower kneels even more but does not collapse. Other attacks with arms and penthouses, and the levelling of the ditch outside the walls, are equally without result.

³ XI. 2, p. 312. To these *μηχανισμάτων ἐπίνοιαί*, not inferior to those of Archimedes and Palamedes, the Emperor's faithful servant Euthymius Zigabenus alludes in the preface to his *Panoplia* (P.G. 130, col. 20).

⁴ XI. 2, p. 313. Riant (*Expéditions, etc.* p. 144) considers the way these boats were carried on wagons to be launched on the lake was such an essentially Viking idea as almost to prove that there were Scandinavians among the imperial troops. The scheme was originally due to Alexius' observation that 'the Sultan was bringing in sufficient forces and all his necessities with ease over the adjoining lake'. This is a neat piece of reconnoitring.

story, because from the thick of it Taticius went home, affording the Crusaders a permanent grudge against Alexius, and depriving Anna of a source of reliable information.¹ Here intrigue and famine and superstition all play their part,² and this is also interesting as one of the instances where a citadel holds out after the rest of the town is captured.³ Other sieges, of Tyre,⁴ Laodicea,⁵ Chios and Smyrna,⁶ Mopsuestia and Tarsus,⁷ and Otranto,⁸ present points of interest upon which we cannot enter now. Suffice it to say that Tancred like his uncle Bohemund is great at siegecraft,⁹ but that the most ingenious deed in this whole field is characteristically that of the besieged Alexius, who at Chorlu drops cartwheels from the battlements to roll with deadly effectiveness against the horses of the Patzinak besiegers.¹⁰

This brings us in conclusion to what we may call the reverse side of the subject, the strongholds fortified and held against besiegers. Generals, admirals, and governors of districts may be called on at any moment to help in building or rebuilding or strengthening some fortress,¹¹ and as much 'valour and boldness', not to say ingenuity, is shown in defence as in attack.¹² Any one who neglects to establish himself in a stronghold if possible is a fool, and the man who fails to defend it is 'ignoble'.¹³ The

¹ XI. 4, p. 319.

² We may note that at first the Franks and Greeks seem to rely on starving the town into submission; they dig a trench, set their baggage in it, and besiege the city three months. No engines or assaults are mentioned, only ladders by which they finally enter after the surrender (XI. 4).

³ Cf. V. 4, p. 133, of Joannina; V. 5, p. 136, of Achrida; VI. 13, p. 180, of Apollonias; VII. 3, p. 194, of Dristra; XI. 11, p. 339, of Laodicea. Cf. Cinnamus, I. 8, p. 10. At Durazzo the two commands are distinct *Al.* IV. 8, p. 122.

⁴ XIV. 2.

⁵ XI. 7 and 11. This town has its citadel revictualled by Bohemund, while Greek troops are actually in possession of the rest. 'Effective blockade' seems in Anna's day to have been rarely achieved.

⁶ VII. 8; XI. 5, p. 322.

⁷ XII. 2.

⁸ XII. 8.

⁹ XII. 2, p. 349; 9, p. 370.

¹⁰ VII. 11.

¹¹ So Bohemund in V. 4, p. 133; 5, p. 137, and the Duke of Cyprus in XI. 7, p. 330; 10, p. 338. On the second occasion he digs trenches all round Seleucia and leaves not only a garrison, but a fleet on guard in the harbour. In the gorges bordering on Dalmatia Alexius erects on foundations of tree-trunks *πολίχνια* of bricks or stones wherever the ground permits, and measures the distances himself (IX. 1, p. 245). Eumathius Philocales rebuilds and repopulates Adramyttium destroyed by Tzachas (XIV. 1, p. 420). Alexius after his parley with Bolcanus leaves men 'to rebuild the torn-down cities' (IX. 4, p. 252), and intends to carry on the work himself (IX. 5, p. 253). In the height of summer he superintends the building of the 'Iron Fort' to protect a newly dug trench near Lake Baane in Asia Minor (X. 5). He applies himself to *ἀσφαλίσασθαι* some fortresses against Bohemund and *κατοχυρῶσαι* others, but the difference is purely rhetorical (XII. 3, p. 354).

¹² So of Duke Alexius at Durazzo in XIII. 3.

¹³ XIV. 5, pp. 439, 440.

words used are *πολίχνιον*,¹ *φρούριον*,² *ὀχύρωμα*³ *κάστρον*, *καστέλιον*, and *πολισμάτιον*,⁴ and we find the fortresses which they denote scattered all over the Empire,⁵ some no doubt of the 600 which Justinian is said to have repaired. Cecaumenus has thirteen consecutive chapters about the holding of such posts, as well as scattered allusions,⁶ and from the very beginning of the *Alexias* to the end we are never allowed to forget that the Empire had more and more learnt to rely on walls, not men. Alexius wins in his struggle against Urselius not by pitched battles but by capturing fortresses, and Robert Guiscard's campaign opens in the same way.⁷ All enemy strongholds must be destroyed.⁸ Sometimes fortresses serve as prisons,⁹ often as places of refuge for defenceless peasantry or for generals awaiting reinforcements,¹⁰ always as bulwarks against an invading foe.¹¹ Nature and art, water and walls, serve to protect Anchialus on the Black Sea,¹² Nicomedia in Bithynia,¹³ Castoria on its ridge running into a lake,¹⁴ Nicaea by the side of Lake Ascania.¹⁵ Tyre has three concentric outworks as well as 'unshakable walls', and Philippopolis has its three hills 'each girt round with a great and lofty wall' as well as with trenches.¹⁶ Yet to remain in one's fortress without making sorties was a clear confession of weakness, and as such would justify attack.¹⁷

It is not surprising that places so valuable should demand, as we see on countless occasions, scrupulous care in the choice of commandants, and that the keeping of the keys is a solemn

¹ e.g. XIV. 5, p. 440, and *passim*. Elissus is a *μετέωρον πολίχνιον καὶ πάντῃ δυσάλωτον* (XII. 9, p. 371).

² e.g. I. 2, p. 4.

³ e.g. XI. 7, p. 329.

⁴ XIII. 12.

⁵ e.g. V. 5, p. 137. The word *κωμόπολις* means a 'village' whether fortified or not, and occurs too commonly to need references.

⁶ *Strat.* pp. 26-35.

⁷ I. 2, p. 4; 16, p. 38; cf. VII. 8, p. 209.

⁸ V. 5, p. 137, &c.

⁹ So a nameless *φρούριον* in I. 11, p. 26; Amasea in I. 2, 3; Tebenna in XII. 7, p. 364; Philippopolis in VIII. 9, p. 242.

¹⁰ Coloneia in XII. 7, p. 365, and fortresses in general in the Patzinak invasion VII. 1, p. 188.

¹¹ e.g. the various places in Asia Minor held by toparchs against the Turks (III. 9, p. 92). Alexius makes desperate efforts to keep the *φρούρια* south of Adrianople from falling into the hands of the Patzinaks (VII. 6, p. 203).

¹² X. 3, p. 275.

¹³ X. 5.

¹⁴ VI. 1, p. 152.

¹⁵ XI. 1 and 2. It has a famous 'kneeling' Tower, and the Fort of St. George is in the immediate neighbourhood (VI. 11, p. 176; XI. 2, pp. 313, 314).

¹⁶ XIV. 2, p. 426; 8, p. 450.

¹⁷ In XI. 7, p. 329; XIV. 1, p. 421, failure by the holder of a fortress to make a sortie is held to prove that he has run away or is a negligible quantity. So Cecaumenus (*Strat.* p. 17). Bryennius allows sorties from Adrianople against the Comans (X. 3, p. 277). Palacologus (IV. 4, p. 110) makes a sortie and is wounded, Alyates does the same and is killed (XIII. 5). In XIV. 3, p. 431, we find the governor of Philadelphia marching out from his post to active warfare.

responsibility.¹ Antioch was the domain of Alexius' brother Isaac, and we must remind ourselves that Durazzo had successively four members of the imperial family for Duke.² The toparchs still holding Asiatic towns and provinces against the Turks in the dark days of 1081 are among the first to be summoned by the new Emperor to his support.³ Everywhere we perceive the power for good or evil of these commandants, able as they often were to make themselves independent of the central authority.⁴ It might be for the time an easy way for an emperor to get rid of a turbulent subject,⁵ and the man in question might regard such a command as exile,⁶ or even as too tame a task,⁷ but we are never without the feeling that in the hands of these commandants and behind their stone walls the destinies of the Empire were placed. Freeman once pointed out that the primitive ideal of a suitable residence is a stronghold perched on a high hill, while in more peaceful and commercial times men put their towns by rivers or on the sea. If this is true, then certainly Anna had not advanced beyond the primitive stage. A strong tower into which the righteous runneth and is safe would have been her first requisite.

This ends our survey of Anna as a military historian. Though her account of foreign affairs is necessarily bound up with her account of the army, yet it has seemed wiser to separate the two, and to consider her descriptions of battles and ambushes and sieges independently of the people against whom the operations were conducted. And the conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that these descriptions, though not the finest specimens of her art, are often lucid, instructive, and even interesting. Many a modern war correspondent might be glad indeed to achieve the like.

¹ So of Butumites at Nicaea (XI. 2, p. 314) and Alexius himself at Choerobacchae (VIII. 1, p. 221). We may compare Anna Dalassena and her sons' door-keys in II. 5, p. 51.

² Alexius' brothers-in-law Palaeologus and John Ducas, and his two nephews John and Alexius Comnenus, sons of his brother Isaac the Sebastocrator. See Ch. 61, above.

³ III. 9, p. 92. They are ordered to leave 'sufficient soldiers' behind as garrisons and to come to Constantinople with every other possible veteran or recruit. One of them is mentioned later as having owned *πολύνια* in the heart of Asia Minor (XV. 4, p. 471) and another becomes Duke of Trebizond (XII. 7, p. 364). Governors are described indifferently by various names (III. 9; VII. 8, p. 205; XI. 5; see p. 360, note 1, above). In the case of one such governor we are specially told that he was *ἀπειμάνιος* (XI. 5, p. 323).

⁴ VI. 9; VIII. 9; XII. 7; XIV. 3, p. 431; 8, p. 451. See the implication in X. 2 and 3 about Adrianople and Nicephorus Bryennius.

⁵ VIII. 9.

⁶ I. 16, p. 38.

⁷ XIII. 7, p. 395.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

64. THE EAST

WHEN we approach the last of Anna's historical interests, foreign affairs, we are once more compelled by lack of space to omit more than we include. Foreigners were to her, broadly speaking, either enemies or mercenaries, and as such they come before her in a purely military or diplomatic light. But they cannot be passed over altogether, and we will try if possible to understand her attitude to each race as men even more than as fighters, with a side-glance on her father's behaviour to each. The foreign nations which Anna once describes as attacking the Emperor from the East, North, and West¹ fall naturally into these three geographical groups.² We will begin with the first.

The Eastern foes are called by her Arabs, Turks, Hagarenes, Saracens, Ishmaelites, or Persians, as the fancy of the moment dictates, and once she speaks of 'Turcomans dwelling in Asia',³ but as a matter of fact the Mohammedans who appear in her pages are probably all Seljuq Turks. This tribe, which first made its appearance in Turkestan at the end of the tenth century, gradually came Westward till 'in 1055 Tughril Beg entered Bagdad and was proclaimed Sultan'.⁴ Another element was thereby added to the kaleidoscope of the Eastern world, where the Empire had contended successively first with Persians and Armenians and then with the various Arab or Saracen hosts, Ummayyads, Abbasids, and Fatimites. When Tughril Beg died in 1063 'he left to his successor Alp Arslan an empire which eight years later stretched from the Hindu Kush to the shores of the Mediterranean'.⁵ Ani, capital of

¹ XIV. 7, p. 445.

² The South plays very little part in Anna's history. Egypt is mentioned rhetorically in V. 6, p. 141; VI. 11, p. 176; 13, p. 182; geographically in I. 4, p. 10; VII. 5, p. 201; XV. 7, p. 485; and as the home of astrology and such-like arts in VI. 7. Ethiopia figures once in a proverb (IX. 6, p. 257). Cairo, under the usual medieval name of Babylon, is mentioned in XI. 7 and XII. 1. Rhetorical references to the Babylon of antiquity occur in XIII. 8, p. 398; XIV. 2, p. 423; and XV. 10, p. 494.

³ XIV. 6, p. 442.

⁴ *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 304.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 277. In this article H. Loewe ascribes largely to the Seljuqs 'the failure of the Crusaders to make any lasting impression on the East', and on the other hand 'an unconscious influence of East upon West' through intercourse in the Holy Wars (*ibid.* p. 299). In his opinion their appearance saved Islam from impending destruction (p. 302).

Armenia, which had for centuries been the buffer-state protecting the Empire against Eastern invasions, fell in 1064, during the fatal reign of Constantine X (Ducas). The Seljuqs poured into the Eastern provinces, and the gallant attempt of Romanus IV Diogenes (stepfather of the new Emperor Michael VII Ducas who had succeeded to the crown at fourteen) to stem the tide ended in his defeat and death at Manzikert in 1071. We need not here quote in full Anna's statements about the Turkish encroachments, but we shall do well to remind ourselves that when Alexius ascended the throne in 1081 the Turks had advanced up to the Bosphorus; his first military action was to recover Bithynia and the town of Nicomedia, and confine the enemy by arms and by a treaty to the further side of the river Draco;¹ Nicaea, Iconium and Smyrna, to mention merely three of the most important towns in Asia Minor, still lay in the Sultan's power. Only on the Black Sea were the Greeks still masters, holding in particular the key stronghold of Trebizond, while in the South Antioch was at least nominally theirs.²

¹ This is a small and very winding river rising in the hills North of the Ascanian Lake near Nicaea, and flowing out into the Bay of Astacus, in the sea of Marmora, near the ancient Helenopolis (Ersek).

² Alexius' brother Isaac at one time (1074-9) bore the title of Duke of Antioch (II. 1, p. 43). See above, p. 29, note 2. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Emp. Byz.*, p. 307-8, gives a list of sixteen Byzantine Dukes of Antioch from 976 to 1085. When this town first comes plainly before us in the *Alexias* it is in the hands of Philaretus, an Armenian who had been loyal to Romanus Diogenes if not to his successors on the throne (VI. 9). Laurent (*Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, p. 19) points out that our knowledge as to the exact extent of the power of the Turks in Asia Minor after Manzikert is extremely vague. Take for instance their province of Bithynia; the authorities, Greek, Arabic and Armenian, differ as to its capital, size, and political status. 'Il paraît sage', says Laurent, 'de renoncer à dresser d'après les sources un inventaire géographique détaillé des possessions turques et byzantines dans l'Asie occidentale en 1081.' It is clear that Michael VII after his deposition in 1078 was able to become Bishop of Ephesus, still 'a glorious and famous church' (Attaliates, p. 303), and Anna herself speaks of Greek Governors of Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia (to say nothing of Choma) in 1081 (III. 9, p. 92). Indeed there was still enough of 'Asia' unoccupied by Turks for Nicephorus Melissenus to desire it as his share of Empire if the Comneni 'should sway the affairs of the West' (II. 8, p. 59). The historians incidentally mention Greek generals in various Asiatic places, one even as far East as Mesopotamia (Nic. Bry. III. 15, p. 79). As Laurent says, up to 1081 the Arabs made raids rather than conquests: 'il faut . . . ne pas prendre l'itinéraire de leurs destructions pour celui de leurs conquêtes.' It is however certain that the Byzantines, by their fatal habit of recalling troops from the Eastern frontier to combat domestic foes (*ibid.* pp. 22, 23), and by their crushing of Armenia with its potential help against the invaders, themselves let in the Turkish deluge which ultimately submerged the country. In 1050 Byzantine Asia had 'une importance capitale dans l'Empire. Trente ans plus tard elle n'était plus qu'un désert' (*ibid.* p. 105), as we see from the sufferings of the Crusaders. The Emperors had set themselves to humble the provincial nobles, had diminished the army, had failed to pay their troops, and had alienated the Armenians. Furthermore, with pirates on the one side and Turks on the other, the Byzantines in Asia Minor were indeed between the upper and the nether millstone. The rapid success of the Turks in arms between 1071 and 1081 'était dû aux

Relations were complicated by the fact that on the principle of 'Out of two evils choose the least', Alexius frequently as we have seen got Turkish help against other enemies. When sent to conquer Urselius, he only succeeds by winning over the Turk Tutach (whose Sultan he declares is 'friendly' to his own Emperor) and bribing him to surrender the Norman rebel into his hands.¹ On later occasions, too numerous to quote in full, Turkish mercenaries play an important part in the Greek armies.² But Turks in the mass are held up to us as formidable enemies, very warlike, highly skilled, and utterly relentless,³ though with the commendable impartiality which she professes in her Preface Anna is quite ready 'to praise enemies', even 'most godless' Turks.⁴ Indeed what might be called her anti-barbarian complex is never so little marked as in the case of these Easterners. They have been bad and destructive neighbours to the Empire, and like 'all barbarians' they 'ravage everything' and are 'ready for slaughters and wars',⁵ but they are brave and skilful, and can boast of ἀνδραγαθήματα like Christians.⁶ All nations as compared to the Greek Empire, 'by nature their queen' (δεσπότις), are 'slavish' and therefore 'hostile',⁷ and like many other barbarians Turks have a 'deceit-

fautes de Byzance et à la trahison ou à l'indifférence de ses sujets', and even after this they owed their advance 'à l'inaction, à l'impéritie et à la division des chrétiens'. Alexius Comnenus, the one Emperor who might have overcome them, was fatally hampered by his Norman enemies (*ibid.* p. 111).

Of the four groups into which the Seljuqs split, in Kirman, Syria, Iraq and Kurdistan, and Rum or Asia Minor (see *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, pp. 314, 315), only the second and fourth figure in the *Alexias*. The Seljuqs of Syria confronted the Crusaders, the Seljuqs of Rum fought Alexius also. At one moment however Bohemund and one Seljuq chief were allied together against Alexius and another Seljuq, an incident which Anna does not mention, but which as Loewe says is 'one of the instances which show that political considerations were more important than religious differences, not only among the Crusaders but also among the Muslims' (*ibid.* p. 315).

¹ I. 4, p. 10; II. 6; IV. 2, p. 105; 4, p. 109; 6, p. 117; V. 5, p. 137; 6, p. 141; 7, p. 142; VIII. 3, p. 226; X. 4, p. 380; XI. 2, p. 316; XIII. 6. So also Bohemund has two 'Saracen counts' among his officers (V. 5 and XIII. 5).

² Leo (*Tactica*, XVIII. 61) says the Turks only differ from the Bulgarians as fighters by their greater cruelty. Laurent (*op. cit.* p. 106, note 3) quotes a long string of writers, Eastern, Greek, and Western, to prove their savage brutality. We should hardly infer it from the *Alexias*, though Anna believes that Turkish cruelty to Peter the Hermit was one cause of the First Crusade (X. 5, p. 283).

³ III. 11, p. 95. The word seems rather a statement of fact, like our 'infidel', than a criticism (cf. V. 2, p. 128). So in XI. 7, p. 328, when the Turks 'pressed on to the siege of Jaffa, for such is ever the nature of barbarians' the blame is at least tinged with admiration. We have already spoken of the one exception as to her fairness, in rating them as drunken and immoral.

⁴ IX. 3, p. 251; X. 5, pp. 282, 283; XI. 5, p. 321; XIV. 1, p. 421; XV. 10, p. 495. But cf. XIV. 5, p. 439, of a Turkish general avoiding needless bloodshed.

⁵ V. 5, p. 137; XI. 8, pp. 331, 332; XV. 5, p. 474; 6, p. 478.

⁶ XIV. 7, p. 445. Anna could certainly never have been blamed by Plutarch as φιλοβάρβαρος, as was Herodotus. See T. R. Glover's *From Pericles to Philip*, p. 3.

ful nature from of old', and are given to treachery,¹ besides being apt to 'consider themselves as all but overtopping the clouds';² but we may set against this their often-shown chivalry to prisoners taken in war. The imperial general Rodomerus had evidently not suffered in his captivity with the Turks, but had learnt their language;³ they admire another brave foe and show chivalry in begging him to save his life by surrender,⁴ and on at least one occasion the Sultan of Cairo releases prisoners without ransom.⁵ If Moslems are ready to go over to the enemy or to exact 'tribute' from those they conquer, so are Christians.⁶ It is true that in war-time Turks make weird cries like wolves or dogs, they shout and yell and beat drums and wear strange clothes,⁷ but they are also 'most ingenious' (*μηχανικώτατοι*),⁸ 'splendid archers' (*τοξικώτατοι*),⁹ and 'experienced in war' (*ἐμπειροπόλεμοι*).¹⁰ They do indeed ruthlessly kill the earliest Crusaders and make a wall of their bones, but it seems to have been in reprisals for wanton brutality to infants and old people.¹¹ On a later occasion it is the cold-blooded cruelty (even to children) of the imperial general Eumathius Philocales that stirs up the whole country against the Greeks.¹² On the whole the impression left on our mind is expressed in a favourite dictum of the Great War: 'The Turk fights like a gentleman.'¹³

When we go into the matter a little more minutely we find that the first Turkish campaign, narrated in III. 11, is characteristic in two ways: Alexius does not go to the front in person, and he concludes matters with diplomacy; these two phenomena strike us again and again.

¹ VII. 8, p. 209.

² XV. 6, p. 479.

³ XI. 3, p. 315. So Nic. Bry. (I. 19, p. 32) represents the behaviour of the 'leader of the Persians' to the captured Romanus Diogenes as a model of clemency and courtesy.

⁴ XIV. 5, p. 440.

⁵ XI. 7, p. 328; XII. 1, pp. 346, 347. These are probably two variants of the same story. The second account gives more details, i.e. that there were 300 prisoners, that they had suffered great hardship in their prison, which was *δευνὴ τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων*, and that Alexius 'greatly admired the barbarian's' [i.e. the Sultan's] 'spirit'.

⁶ VI. 9, p. 170, and cf. VI. 1; XI. 11, p. 339, and cf. IV. 3, p. 107.

⁷ XIV. 5, p. 439; 6, pp. 443, 444; XV. 5, p. 475; 6, p. 476. Probably the 'foreign and barbarian dress' of Bohemund, when he came in a coffin from Antioch and startled the people of Corfu, was Turkish (XI. 12, p. 342).

⁸ XV. 1, p. 461.

⁹ XV. 3, p. 470.

¹⁰ XI. 8, p. 331.

¹¹ X. 6, pp. 286, 287.

¹² XIV. 1, p. 420. Chalandon points out (*op. cit.* pp. 12, 98, 136), that the Armenian Samuel of Ani considered Malek Shah, the Sultan Tapares of Anna's Book VI, the ideal sovereign, and that Matthew of Edessa praised his goodness and thought his death a loss to the whole world.

¹³ We may note that Anna does not think it beneath the 'grandeur' of her history to bring in Turkish names, as she does in the case of 'barbarian' Franks.

In Book VI Anna carries on her story about the Turks from 1085 right down to 1092,¹ and then in Chapter 14 returns to 1086 and the beginning of the Patzinak War. During Alexius' struggle with Robert Guiscard, the Moslems had gradually got back again to the Bosphorus, and Alexius' old enemy Solyman of Nicaea² had gone South and seized Antioch, succeeding the last Byzantine duke, an Armenian named Philaretus, in 1085 and leaving Abul Cassim to hold Nicaea. The death of Solyman in battle against Tutuses, brother of the great Sultan Malek Shah, is followed by the virtual independence of 'all the Satraps that were holding towns and fortresses',³ and the raids of Abul Cassim round Nicaea cause Alexius to send forces against him.⁴ Meanwhile negotiations have been going on between the Emperor and Malek Shah, the nominal sovereign of all these petty princes. Once more Alexius uses diplomacy rather than force, and while ostensibly considering the Sultan's offer of substantial aid in return for an alliance by marriage, he hoodwinks the Turkish envoy completely. By a flattering reception he induces him to be baptized and makes him in return Duke of Anchialus. Later on another Turk, Abul Cassim, is lured by Alexius to Constantinople. 'Plentiful gifts' are promised and given him, and he is kept amused with 'baths and horse-races and hunting', with sight-seeing, and 'an equestrian contest for his benefit in the theatre' (i.e. circus), while Alexius' men are rapidly building a fort⁵ to overawe Nicomedia. Abul Cassim finally returns to Nicaea and is besieged for three months by Prosuch, acting for Malek Shah. Once more Alexius is true to type; he resolves to help Abul Cassim, on the ground that 'when two enemies of the rule of the Greeks are fighting one another it is wise to come to terms with the weaker', so as finally to crush both. So he sends troops to try and raise the siege of Nicaea,⁶ and at some later period fails to close with a renewed offer from Malek Shah,⁷ that in return for a Byzantine princess as a bride for his son⁸ the Turks would support the Empire against all enemies.

¹ VI. 9-13.

² See III. 11.

³ VI. 10, p. 171.

⁴ Anna believes that he was 'yearning to annex the sceptre of the Greek Empire' (VI. 10, p. 172).

⁵ Chalandon (p. 101, note 1) says this was Cibotus, which the Varangians built for him.

⁶ VI. 11, p. 176. Chalandon (p. 101) dates this as 1086. The final withdrawal of the besieging Turks does not take place till VI. 12, p. 177.

⁷ Chalandon (p. 135) believes the date to have been 1092, the year of Malek Shah's death. In that case we must assume, as he does, that Anna tells us nothing about either Abul Cassim or Malek Shah during a space of six years (1086-92). Tzachas (see p. 423, below) comes on the scene in 1088.

⁸ Anna here shows unusual aversion to Turks. Such a marriage would have been 'wretched', bestowing a crown 'sadder than all poverty' (VI. 12, p. 178).

Before the Greek envoy can carry Alexius' evasive answer to the Sultan, the latter is killed,¹ and anarchy reigns in Asia Minor, each emir² making himself independent.

Into all the ramifications of the campaign as told in Books VI, VII, VIII, and IX there is no time or space to go. Cyzicus lost to the Empire since 1081 is regained, and the Satrap Elchanes comes over to the Greeks and is converted to Christianity by Alexius, the *ἱερατικώτατος* and *διδασκαλικώτατος* of emperors.³ But solid successes are non-existent, and in 1088 during the Patzinak War (1086-91), when Asiatic affairs are already so serious as to demand the immediate dispatch of the best imperial cavalry, the 500 horsemen newly come from Flanders, to the Eastern front rather than to the Western,⁴ Tzachas the Emir of Smyrna begins troubling the Empire by land and especially by sea.⁵

After Alexius early in 1091 has gained a slight success over the Patzinaks at Choerobacchae,⁶ we are told that Tzachas has not only raised a new fleet but has been intriguing with 'the Scythians' (who were to seize the Chersonesus while he hemmed in the imperial forces from the other side of the Dardanelles), and trying to seduce Alexius' Turkish mercenaries. With Abul Cassim threatening Nicomedia⁷ Alexius would have

¹ VI. 12. Anna says he was murdered when drunk by Chasii (assassins) paid by his brother Tutuses. This seems to be a confusion with the fact that about a month before Malek Shah's death the great Vizier Nizam-al-Mulk was thus assassinated (*Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 308). Matthew of Edessa says Malek Shah was poisoned by his wife (Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. 135, note 3). Anna's Turkish history in this Book is not of the soundest; she mentions 'Pargiaruch the newly made Sultan' in 10, p. 172, whereas he does not really succeed his father till some time later (12, p. 179). One dramatic incident (VI. 12, pp. 177, 178) bears the stamp of truth. Abul Cassim loads fifteen mules with gold and goes to Malek Shah, hoping to buy his consent to the retention of Nicaea by himself. But Puzanus has forestalled him, and the Sultan declines to reopen the case, saying, 'Now that I have once committed the authority to the Emir Puzanus, I do not wish it to be taken away from him. Let [Abul Cassim] go to him and give his money to him and say all that he wishes. And what seems good to [Puzanus] shall be my pleasure too'. What seems good to Puzanus is to strangle Abul Cassim with a bowstring, but Anna sees the Sultan's hand in the deed. The whole story, of the rivalry, the bribes, the plausible yet cruel monarch, the savage penalty for ambition, is true to all we know of the East down to far later times.

² Anna seems to use 'satrap', 'emir', and 'sultan' interchangeably for the same office. Cf. VI. 12, p. 180, with VII. 7, p. 205. We find the title 'exousiast' in XI. 7, p. 328, and the verb in III. 11 p. 95. 'Saisan' also is probably not a name but a rank (see p. 426, note 5, below). Anna only differentiates the 'Great Sultan' of Bagdad.

³ VI. 13.

⁴ VII. 7, p. 205.

⁵ VII. 8.

⁶ VIII. 3, p. 226.

⁷ VII. 7, p. 205. Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. xvi, shows that in VI. 12 Anna anticipates the events of 1092 including Abul Cassim's death, and returns in VI. 14 to events in Europe in 1086; in VII. 7 Abul Cassim is still alive.

three enemies on his hands at once. The great danger to the Empire was however checked by Alexius' brilliant victory at Lebunium over the Patzinaks, and for the better part of two Books Anna makes only one casual reference to the Turks.¹ But Book IX opens with the ominous news, brought to Alexius when enjoying a brief respite at Constantinople from troubles in Dalmatia and troubles in his own court circle, that Tzachas is venturing to call himself βασιλεύς, and once more aiming at a conquest of the Empire by sea.² John Ducas is now (1092) sent from Durazzo to Asia Minor, and after three months takes Mitylene. Thereupon peace is made and hostages exchanged, but this consideration deters neither side from injuring the other. Anna is duly shocked at the way in which Tzachas violates his oath to spare the people of Mitylene on his departure, but she has no criticism to make when Constantine Dalassenus attacks him after the peace.³ On the whole Greek perfidy succeeds the best, and Tzachas has to remain inactive in Smyrna while John Ducas fortifies Mitylene and recovers several of the islands before he is summoned back by the Emperor to suppress revolts in Crete and Cyprus. Tzachas seizes the opportunity of his absence to make fresh naval preparations, and Alexius once more resorts to diplomacy, stirring up against him his son-in-law Kilidj Arslan, with the suggestion that Tzachas was too 'much experienced' to have any real designs on the Empire, but was in fact coveting the Sultanate of Nicaea. Tzachas in ignorance of this intrigue goes to see Kilidj Arslan, who makes him drunk at a banquet, stabs him, leaves him for dead, and concludes a treaty with the Emperor.⁴

This is in 1092, and for four years we hear practically no more of the Turks. Then in 1096 comes the Crusade, and from that time till after the death of Bohemund⁵ in 1109 or 1111⁶ they appear as the enemies primarily of the Franks and only secondarily of the Greeks. The Emperor however represents himself, possibly in reference to his early fighting as a youth, as one who had had 'knowledge for a long time back of the method of warfare of the Turks',⁷ and as such he gives good and often neglected advice to the Crusaders.⁸ At Nicaea he

¹ VIII. 9, p. 240.

² He is said to have treated Smyrna as his 'royal residence' and his 'private lot' (IX. 1, p. 245; XI. 5, p. 321).

³ IX. 1, and see p. 151, above.

⁴ IX. 3, pp. 250, 251; cf. IX. 1, p. 245.

⁵ Chalandon, p. 249, note 6.

⁶ X. 11, p. 305; XI. 3, pp. 317, 318; XI. 8. Turkish ambushes are specially to be dreaded (X. 6, p. 287; 10, p. 301).

⁷ X. 5 to XIV. 1.

⁸ X. 10, p. 301.

sends Butumites to negotiate directly with the Turks, and when they have been induced to surrender by lavish promises he enrolls some of their 'satraps' in his army,¹ being apparently more willing to deal honestly with them than with his supposed allies the Crusaders. In the same spirit Anna displays little enthusiasm over the joint victory of Crusaders and Greeks at Dorylaeum² and the other successes (on one occasion over the redoubted Kilidj Arslan), which allowed the combined army to reach and besiege Antioch. When Bohemund tells Taticius that the counts attribute to the Emperor's treachery the rumoured arrival of fresh Turks from Chorassan, it may have been an uneasy conscience quite as much as hunger and fear that made the Greek general beat a hasty retreat from the camp;³ it is the sort of craftiness that might well have occurred to Alexius. After this Anna's information about the Crusade is less reliable, but she certainly represents the Turks as equal on the whole to the Christians in bravery and determination.⁴

In the meanwhile after his capture of Nicaea in 1097 Alexius has fresh trouble, both from Tzachas at Smyrna and also from Tangripermes at Ephesus, and thus has a good excuse for delaying his own march to join the Crusaders. Finally the Turks are driven back by John Ducas from the West coast, and this encourages Alexius to advance in person from Pelecanus, where he had remained during and after the siege of Nicaea, to Philomelium beyond Polybotus. But the same report of the fresh Turkish host from Chorassan which had been used by Bohemund to terrorize Taticius convinces Alexius of the hopelessness of saving Antioch. He therefore starts back to the capital with a large body of 'captured barbarians and Christian refugees',⁵ leaving small segments of his troops to check the Turkish advance.

In Books XII and XIII there is no mention of Turks⁶ till we get to the treaty between Alexius and Bohemund, with the latter's solemn promise to defend his liege lord against all comers as long as he is himself 'free from any barbaric and Turkish war', and furthermore to turn all lands he may capture 'whether

¹ XI. 1, 2.

² XI. 3, p. 317.

³ XI. 4, p. 319.

⁴ XI. 4, p. 320, of the 'few brave men' who hold the Citadel of Antioch. It is not until the Sacred Nail is found that the Crusaders can rout the Turks (XI. 6, p. 327) and proceed to Jerusalem.

⁵ XI. 6. These refugees come 'saving their bodies and as much money as they could carry'. There are women among them.

⁶ Except for XII. 7, p. 365, where Gregory Taronites intrigues with Tanisman, and the ransoming of the Frankish counts at Babylon (i.e. Cairo) in XII. 1 (cf. XI. 7), a story redounding to the credit of the Sultan's generosity as much as to that of Alexius.

Turkish or Armenian, Pagans or Christians', into vassal states of the Empire.¹ Finally Bohemund dies and Alexius immediately applies himself to repairing the barbarians' ravages 'on the coast of Smyrna and as far as Attalia'.² Forces under Eumathius Philocales rebuild Adramyttium which Tzachas had totally destroyed, but their achievements are neutralized by great cruelty which enrages the inhabitants and brings down upon them the formidable army of the Archsatrap Asan of Cappadocia. In the fighting which takes place from Philadelphia as a base, the Greeks are uniformly successful. Many Turks are killed or captured or drowned in the Maeander, and Eumathius 'plentifully rewards' his men. This seems to have given the Emperor a fresh desire to join the Crusade, but it dies out in plans and negotiations, and soon he is fully occupied in dealing vicariously with the Turkish peril on the Ionian coast. In 1111 Constantine Gabras,³ the new governor of Philadelphia,⁴ confronts the advancing Emir Saisan (a chief not otherwise specified),⁵ defeats him, and makes him sue for peace. Then once more Anna records a diplomatic triumph for her father. The Turk, who is depicted as fully alive to the Emperor's greatness, sends envoys to the Chersonesus, where Alexius was wintering so as to keep guard over his Empire by sea and land. They are overawed by the enthroned Imperial Majesty with his guard of honour, and Alexius takes advantage of this frame of mind. In his daughter's words:⁶ 'Having ascertained what the Sultan wished, inasmuch as he realized that not all the things demanded by them would profit the empire of the Greeks, he wrapped much persuasiveness round his words, and made very clever explanations to them, till by much speaking he persuades them to acquiesce in his desires'. The treaty is concluded, but Anna though reiterating her praise of her father's devoted patriotism gives us no hint of the terms.

In any case he was not to enjoy peace for long. An army of 50,000 Turks is announced 'from all the lands of the East and Chorassan itself'.⁷ So in 1113 Alexius, now nearly sixty and crippled with gout, took the field in person against the Turks for the first time since his accession.⁸ The initial brunt of the

¹ XIII. 12, pp. 407, 409.

² XIV. 1, p. 419.

³ XIV. 3.

⁴ Eumathius Philocales, the former Governor, becomes Duke of Cyprus (XIV. 2, p. 424).

⁵ Unless we identify him with the 'Sultan Saisan' of Chorassan (XIV. 3, p. 431). But Du Cange takes Saisan as a title merely; see his note on XV. 1, p. 460 A, and see p. 423, note 2, above.

⁶ XIV. 3, p. 432.

⁷ XIV. 4, p. 433.

⁸ XIV. 5. In XI. 6, at Philomelium, he seems not to have been in action at all.

fighting is borne by Eustathius Camytzes, but after one success he is defeated and captured. Then Alexius tries his fortune and wins a victory at Acrocos near Cotiaecum. The enemy's subsequent attacks are repelled, and Camytzes escapes to Alexius, who sends him to Irene at Constantinople with the good news of triumph, soon afterwards returning thither himself.

Coman raiders and Manichaeian heretics next engross his attention,¹ and when he is desirous to go against the Turks he is bedridden with 'the wonted suffering in his feet'.² We must observe that throughout Book XV one of the two Turkish leaders, a second Saisan, otherwise Kilidj Arslan II, son of the Kilidj Arslan of the previous wars, is notorious for youthful insolence and conceited folly. He allows his courtiers to mock at his invalid opponent and his nurse-wife in what we can only call theatrical skits,³ he fails to realize that no trick devised by 'the highly ingenious' could possibly deceive Alexius,⁴ he is contemptuous of the new *parataxis*,⁵ and after his capitulation he neglects to his own undoing the Emperor's advice and the subsequent warning of a dream.⁶ The marching and counter-marching in chapters 1 and 2 makes dull reading, however much it meant 'brilliant victory' for the Greeks. In chapter 2 however we get a dramatic account of three successive messengers coming in haste to announce that the Turks are getting nearer. We almost feel the panic which Irene was too brave to show, as the Emperor dispatched her homewards fleeing before the dreaded foe. But nothing decisive happens (to the malign amusement of the disloyal), and the Empress rejoins her husband at Nicomedia.⁷

We next follow the newly trained Greek army on its march towards Iconium. The men are instructed to make only short dashes for foraging purposes, and nothing special occurs till Alexius reaches Dorylaeum and puts into practice the new *parataxis* which we have already discussed at length. Here we will only quote Anna's words about Turkish methods of fighting. She describes their battle array⁸ as different from others, in that 'the right wing and the left wing and the centre are separated from one another . . . and whenever any one makes an onslaught on the right or left wing, the centre leaps upon him and the part of the whole battle array (*παράταξις*) behind the centre, and like hurricanes they throw the troops opposed to them into confusion. As for their weapons of war, they do not use spears

¹ XIV. 8, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷ XV. 3.

² XV. 1, p. 460.

⁵ XV. 5, p. 475.

⁸ *Ibid.*

³ XV. 1, p. 461.

⁶ XV. 6.

at all, as do the men called Celts, but encircling the enemy on all sides they shoot at him with bows. And so their fighting is at a distance, for when [a Turk] pursues, he captures [his enemy] by his bow, and when pursued he conquers by his arrows. For he shoots his arrow and the arrow flies and strikes either the horse or the horseman, and because it is launched by a mighty hand it passes through the whole body; such splendid archers are they'.¹ Against these redoubtable foes Alexius uses his new parataxis with great effect and to the admiration of the wiser among the enemy. The Sacred Lots however order a retreat from Philomelium, and he starts for the capital, with prisoners, women and children in the middle of his hollow square. The line remains unshaken under all the Turkish attempts to break or terrify it, and finally the enemy sues for peace. Courtesies are exchanged: the Sultan kisses the Emperor's foot, and the Emperor throws his own cloak round the Sultan's shoulders. By the treaty now made the Turks are to return to the boundaries that obtained before Manzikert, and the Sultan departs content with 'very much money',² only to be blinded and strangled in Iconium by his bastard brother. Thus the star of the last Turk mentioned by Anna sets in darkness, and Alexius returns triumphant to Constantinople, one of the few Emperors who had ever 'dared to touch Asia at all even with the tips of his feet'.³ His mantle as an Asiatic conqueror descended on to his son John, whose frequent campaigns against the 'barbarians' round Antioch and elsewhere, in the company of his brother-in-law Bryennius Caesar, cause Anna to recite in her Preface a string of Asiatic place-names.

We have dwelt on these Eastern foes at some length, for to Anna they are hardly, if at all, inferior in importance to Robert and Bohemund. Even though in her heart she may prefer a good Turk to an inferior Christian, still the Turk was the hereditary enemy of Church and State,⁴ and to victories over

¹ We may compare the description of Turkish fighting in Leo's *Tactica* (XVIII. 55, 58). 'In battle they do not make their array (*παράσποννον*) in three parts like the Greeks, but in different bands, in clumps (*δρουγγιστί*) fitting the parts one to the other at a little distance from each other. . . They rejoice rather in fights from afar, and ambushes and encirclings against the enemy, and feigned retreats and turnings and scattered lines.'

Anna gives us one vivid picture of Turks laying waste the land, then surrounding their enemies who could not get out for food or water, and finally defeating them in hand-to-hand fight (XI. 8, pp. 331, 332).

² XV. 6, p. 478.

³ XV. 10, p. 495.

⁴ We may note that of real knowledge about the history or culture of Eastern nations she has little. Aleppo, Edessa, Damascus, Bagdad, Mesopotamia, and Chorassan are all mentioned casually. 'Horses of noble breed from Damascus and Edessa and Arabia' seem to be her only associations with the places named

him whether military or diplomatic many of her best passages are appropriately devoted.

Before we finally leave the East we must say a word about the Armenians, formerly enemies, then in theory subjects of the Empire, and as cordially disliked by Anna as by many of the Greeks nowadays.¹ Laurent, while clearly showing with what unwise harshness this country had been treated by various emperors, admits that 'Les Arméniens installés dans l'Empire pour le défendre, l'avaient souvent trahi',² and he gives a long list of instances. He adds: 'Le fait est que les Arméniens ne tenaient pas en place dans l'Empire; pour échapper au formalisme administratif ou au prosélytisme religieux des Grecs, ils se donnaient à une vie libre, errante et vagabonde; . . . la guerre civile, à son défaut le brigandage, voilà quelle était leur occupation favorite.' As we have seen, Anna has a horror of their Monophysite heresy,³ and she also dislikes them as human beings. Philaretus is guilty of the double crime of rebellion and apostasy to Mohammedanism;⁴ Ariebeas plots against Alexius, and it is a Turco-Armenian half-breed who tries to stab the Emperor in the Palace riding-school;⁵ 'a certain Armenian' betrays Antioch to Bohemund; later 'the Armenians' side with Tancred against the Empire, and he has Armenian recruits,⁶ while last but not least Aspietes, sprung of the royal Arsacid house, from whom great things might be expected because of his noble birth and his personal bravery, proves himself when 'far from his master's hand' a broken reed as a governor, drunken, lazy and incompetent.⁷

(XIV. 2, p. 429). The 'luxury' of Assyrians invented chess, and their women had round faces (III. 3, p. 77; XII. 6, p. 360). The Chaldaeans are famed for occult learning (V. 8, p. 144; XIV. 8, p. 451), and the walls of ancient Babylon were a type of strength (XIII. 8, p. 398; XIV. 2, p. 423). In one passage she says that her father extended the Empire to the Euphrates and Tigris, a considerable exaggeration (VI. 12, p. 176), unless we consider the Frankish and Armenian principalities as parts of his dominions, nominally at least.

¹ Krumbacher (*Sitzungsber. zu München*, 1893, p. 246) gives a medieval Greek proverb 'Ἀρμένιον φίλον, χείρον' ἐχθρόν μὴ θέλε', and talks of the 'üble Meinung' of Byzantines to Armenians, of whom they were jealous in trade and in all high official, military and legal positions. He also quotes Cassia, who in the first half of the ninth century wrote a collection of Gnomic and Epigrammatic; one begins as follows:

Τῶν Ἀρμενίων τὸ δεινότατον γένος
ὑπουλόν ἐστι καὶ φαυλῶδες εἰς ἅπαν.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 50 sqq.

³ X. 1 and XIV. 8. It was from Armenia that Tzimisceas had brought the Manichaeans to Philippopolis.

⁴ VI. 9, p. 168.

⁵ VIII. 7, p. 236; IX. 7, p. 259.

⁶ XI. 4, and 9, p. 334; XII. 2, p. 348.

⁷ IV. 6, p. 117, and XII. 2. We should add by way of exception that Pacurianus though Armenian is a good Grand Domestic (II. 4, p. 50). Like Aspietes he is of noble birth.

To Armenians as forming a state Anna's only reference is in the treaty between Alexius and Bohemund where she includes them among 'those who have never served the Greek Empire' (τῇ 'Ρωμανίᾳ),¹ and it is not quite clear what she means. We must of course rule out the tenth-century Armeniac Theme in Asia Minor (stretching along the Black Sea and including Sinope), to which she four times alludes;² that was nowhere near the territories under discussion. If in the treaty she refers to Greater Armenia, it had had, among its centuries of chequered history under national or foreign rulers, Roman, Persian, and Arab, at least two periods (633-93 and 1021-64) when the Byzantines held the power.³ At the end of the second of these, it was finally subjugated by the Seljuq Turks. If Anna's phrase is not purely rhetorical, she is probably speaking of what Macler terms Armeno-Cilicia, a 'new Armenian State' founded and ruled from 1080 to 1340 by the so-called Rupenian princes, kinsmen of the Bagratid dynasty just extinct in Greater Armenia. The 'Crusading leaders stood in every kind of relationship to the new Armenian kingdom. They befriended and fought it by turns'.⁴ Though its constituent members might once have been as Armenians subject to Byzantine rulers, yet as new petty princes, who had taken to the Taurus Mountains for shelter against the Turks, they might consider themselves as in fact entitled to claim entire independence.

One word must be said in conclusion about the Iberians. Anna represents Iberian nuns as frequently visiting Constantinople, and their chronic state of poverty is finally ended by Alexius who bestows on them 'much care'. This includes 'a great convent and food and suitable clothes'.⁵ The Iberia meant is of course not Spain, but the Caucasian Georgia of modern times, which had been independent under its own rulers throughout its history (in spite of attacks by Basil II and other Byzantine emperors), till the Turkish hordes overwhelmed it. From the first it had had close ties with the Greek Empire, and the early Georgian Church had sought spiritual guidance from Byzantium. Under pressure from Turkish inroads it was appropriate that refugee nuns should make their

¹ XIII. 12, p. 409.

² I. 2, p. 6; XI. 8, pp. 331, 332, and 12, p. 342.

³ *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, pp. 154, 155, 164-6 (F. Macler).

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 167. In XIII. 12, p. 412, the territory of two of these 'Rupenian Armenians' is specially excluded from Bohemund's share because they have become Alexius' 'men'.

⁵ XV. 7, p. 485. The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* also mentions (p. 178) these Nuns in the Orphanage, as being 'of other tongue but of the same customs and faith'.

way to the religious metropolis of the Eastern world. And on quite a different occasion the fact that his mother was an Iberian made it more natural for the Sultan's envoy to Constantinople to accept as a donation from the Emperor 'divine baptism', 'many gifts', and a dukedom.¹

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

65. THE NORTH

ANNA'S interest in Eastern races is virtually confined to Turks and Armenians, and her attitude is respectful enmity to the first and antipathy to the second. In the North she mentions many more different peoples, of whom some are in friendly relations with the Empire. Thus Alans² have confidential places at court³ and serve in the imperial armies.⁴ The ex-Empress Maria and her kinswoman married to Alexius' brother Isaac belong to this race, as does the second wife of Theodore Gabras.⁵ The 'Dacians', as Anna terms the Hungarians, provide the bride of her brother John.⁶ Their ancient but disregarded treaties with the Romans are mentioned,⁷ and they form part of the invading Patzinak army,⁸ so that the marriage was doubtless one of political 'convenience'. Through their territory (*Οὐγγρία*) Alexius will allow the Norman soldiers to go home if they will from Castoria.⁹ In the only two other places where the name occurs, Anna tells us that the Crusaders with Peter the Hermit came to Constantinople 'through the Dacians' (later expressed as 'through the parts of Hungary'),

¹ VI. 9.

² 'Iranian nomads first met with North of the Caspian, and later [c. first century A.D.] spreading into the steppes of Russia' (*Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. *Alani*). We may note that Anna never once mentions the growing power of Russia itself.

³ I. 16, p. 38; II. 4, p. 50.

⁴ XIII. 6, p. 393. They are *μαχιμώτατοι* and have a special commander called *ἐξουσιοκράτωρ*. See Du Cange's note on XIII. 6, p. 393 A. In XV. 2, p. 464, one seems to be a scout.

⁵ VIII. 9, p. 240. Cf. II. 1, p. 44.

⁶ XIII. 12, p. 416. Tzetzes says this Empress was *ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν* (G. Hart, *op. cit.* p. 221). Anna correctly calls the Hungarian ruler a Kralcs. The *Anon. Syn. Chron.* p. 181, says Alexius asked the Kralcs or 'King of Paeonia' for a wife for John.

⁷ III. 8, p. 89.

⁸ VII. 1, p. 188. Their *ἐφοδοί* are coupled with those of the Comans in XIV. 4, p. 434. In III. 8, p. 89, in a passage copied from Psellus (*Chron.*, Is. Comn., Byz. T., p. 222), Anna speaks of the 'Getae' as living beyond the Danube; these were called 'Dacians' by the Romans. The Province of Dacia set up by Trajan was bounded on the West by the river Theiss, and did not comprise the modern Western Hungary, which formed part of Pannonia.

⁹ V. 7, p. 143.

and she enumerates these same Dacians among 'the very rich tribes' who live on the slopes of Mount Haemus.¹

The Bulgarians similarly receive from Anna slight but not unfavourable attention, and there is no sign in the *Alexias* of that horror of the race which comes out in the epistles of their metropolitan, Archbishop Theophylact.² Maria, the daughter-in-law of John Ducas Caesar and mother of the Empress Irene, was a Bulgarian princess,³ and Bulgarian men and officers serve in the Greek army.⁴ The first and the last kings of Bulgaria, Mocrus and Samuel Mocrus, are brought in so as to date certain facts in Balkan history.⁵

The half-Latin half-Slavonic Vlachs and their possible kinship with Alexius have been dealt with already.⁶ The Serbians and Serbia only appear in the *Alexias* twice, first as vague equivalents of and then as neighbours to Dalmatians and Dalmatia,⁷ who under the leadership of Bodinus and Bolcanus give the Empire a great deal of trouble.⁸ A learned Russian, Petroff, wishes to identify these two chiefs; the learned Frenchman Chalandon proves at great length that this is wrong,⁹ and the evidence seems to support him. At any rate in the *Alexias* it is

¹ X. 5, pp. 284, 286; XIV. 8, p. 452. Peter the Hermit did indeed come through Hungary, but not across the Adriatic first as Anna supposes. See Du Cange's note on X. 5, p. 285 D. Chalandon (p. 169) suggests that Peter's sufferings (prior to his arrival at Constantinople) 'from the Turks' (X. 6, p. 286) really means 'from the Hungarians', because the Byzantines often called the Hungarians Turks. On his previous pilgrimage, many months before, he had 'suffered dreadful things from the Turks and Saracens who were laying all Asia waste' (X. 5, p. 283).

² P. G. 126, cols. 308, 308, &c. In the *Alexias* (VIII. 7, p. 236) this prelate complains to Alexius of treachery in the latter's nephew John Comnenus, who as Governor of Dyrrachium was as we might say the principal layman of the see of Achrida, though of course not a Bulgarian.

³ II. 6, p. 55. Another Bulgarian had married the Emperor Isaac Comnenus. Her brother Aaron was governor of Ani, where an inscription records his building a wall and remitting a tax (Laurent, *op. cit.* p. 31).

⁴ VIII. 3, p. 227; 4, p. 229. If as Du Cange says the traitorous Aaron brothers were sprung from Bulgarian kings, it shows that noble Bulgarians were among the courtiers closest to the imperial person, XIII. 1.

⁵ VII. 3, p. 194; XII. 9, p. 371. We have already noted (p. 240, note 1) that Anna follows a recognized convention in calling the Bulgarian monarch alone of all the world outside Byzantium by the majestic name of Basileus. One result of Basil's conquest of Bulgaria was to make Constantinople and not the Eastern provinces the most important part, because the centre, of the Empire. But the conquest also served to bring the Patzinaks into immediate and perilous contact with the Greeks. On neither of these aspects of the history does Anna touch.

⁶ See p. 265, above.

⁷ IX. 4, p. 252; XIV. 4, p. 434. A correspondingly vague use of the word Dalmatia is to be seen in IV. 5, p. 111, where Durazzo is placed in it.

⁸ As a matter of fact the year 1071, so disastrous to the Empire at Manzikert, had also seen a formidable insurrection in Serbia, while the taking of Bari in Italy by the Normans had encouraged the Dalmatians 'to secure practical independence' on their side of the Adriatic (*Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, p. 325).

⁹ Chalandon, *op. cit.* pp. 142-5.

Bodinus, an 'exarch of the Dalmatians',¹ who with a colleague called Michael welcomes Monomachatus the treacherous Greek governor of Durazzo,² and who basely deserts the Greek army in its great defeat outside that town.³ So far the Dalmatians are assumed to be allies of the Empire,⁴ but in 1092 when John Ducas goes to Asia Minor he has already spent many years at Durazzo in combating the encroachments of the Dalmatians, taking their fortresses, and sending numerous prisoners to the Emperor.⁵ Bolcanus and Bodinus are now both mentioned, the former as having 'authority' in Dalmatia, the latter as being 'very warlike and full of roguery' (*ῥαδιουργίας*), always trying to increase his territory at the expense of the Empire, but captured in the end by John. After this we only hear of Bodinus once again, but of Bolcanus many times, a threatened attack of the Dalmatians in 1091 being described first as led by the former⁶ and then as owing its alarming character to the latter.⁷ The extremely rugged 'passes between Dalmatia and our country' have to be fortified under the Emperor's own eye,⁸ and the holding of them takes up valuable soldiers.⁹ Unfortunately John Comnenus, the successor of John Ducas at Durazzo, is not equal to his task. He is twice beaten¹⁰ by Bolcanus, 'dread in speech, dread in action', and his younger brother Alexius succeeds him as governor. Even the Emperor is no match for the crafty diplomacy of the 'most knavish' Dalmatian (*πονηρότατος*), who on his advance against the Empire two years after the end of the Patzinak War (i.e. 1093) tries to throw the blame of the disturbance on 'the satraps of the Greeks' for invading his lands,¹¹ and shows a desire to make peace which is merely hypocritical. For a whole year his promised hostages are not forthcoming. After the first defeat of John Comnenus (who is surprised at night by the supposedly friendly Bolcanus) Alexius again takes the field in 1094, eager to check and to punish the ravaging and burning and other destructions that have reached his ears.¹² On his way to the West he is stopped by the Diogenes conspiracy, but at last he confronts Bolcanus, who is awed by 'the Greek battle array and

¹ I. 16, p. 40. Chalandon calls him 'prince de Serbie', *op. cit.* p. 140.

² III. 12, p. 97.

³ IV. 6, p. 118.

⁴ IV. 5, p. 112; VI. 7, p. 166.

⁵ VII. 9, p. 209.

⁶ VIII. 7, p. 236. This is his last appearance; we are not told how soon he had been released after his capture by John Ducas. Ordericus Vitalis, quoted by Chalandon (*op. cit.* p. 142), says he was still in power when the first Crusade began in 1096.

⁷ VIII. 7, p. 237 (*bis*).

⁸ VIII. 7, p. 236; IX. 1, p. 245.

⁹ XIV. 4, p. 434.

¹⁰ IX. 4, p. 453; XII. 4, p. 356.

¹¹ IX. 4, p. 252.

¹² IX. 5, p. 253.

the serried ranks and the pomp of generalship¹ into begging once more for peace. This is granted, and Anna wishes us to believe that her father's motive was a love for his fellow-Christians, and a dread of ἐμφύλιος μάχη. Hostages are actually given by Bolcanus,² and Alexius, 'having peacefully settled matters naturally made to be accomplished by war and steel, returned to the capital'. Is it cynical to see in all this a confession that the Dalmatians were too powerful to be conquered in war? Only on one other occasion do we hear of them, when Alexius' preparations to withstand Bohemund on his arrival (preparations which include the sending of his nephew Alexius to Durazzo) are interrupted by the bad news of John Comnenus' second disaster.³ After this Bolcanus and Dalmatia alike fade out of the history, leaving on us an impression of a people who no less than the Turks were 'from of old bad neighbours' to the Empire.⁴

Even worse are the Patzinaks and the Comans who, sometimes jointly, sometimes separately, sometimes indeed in opposition to each other, pour over the Danube in no less than five of Anna's Books.⁵ Anna calls them impartially 'Scythians', and draws no distinction between their characteristics.⁶

About the Patzinaks much has been written, and it seems clearly established that they were a Turkish tribe from North of the Caspian, who at the end of the eleventh century had long

¹ IX. 10, p. 265.

² Anna correctly uses the word ζούπανοι of his chief nobles from whom the hostages are selected (IX. 10, p. 265).

³ The passage is as follows: 'Hearing of the defeat of John son of the Sebastocrator, who had been sent before this against the Dalmatians, [Alexius] dispatched sufficient forces to his assistance. Therefore Bolcanus being most knavish straightway makes overtures of peace to the Emperor and sends the requested hostages' (XII. 4, p. 356). The situation is very similar to that in IX. 10, but on the whole it seems better to take the words as referring to a later incident, one which (if the chronology of the chapter is correct) did not occur till 1106.

⁴ We have already (p. 354, note 3, above) dealt with the pirates of the Dalmatian coast (XIV. 7, p. 445), and need not return to them here. As to Albanians, the name only occurs twice. The man who succeeds Palaeologus as civil governor (not military) of Durazzo is an Albanian (IV. 8, p. 122), and Albanians are coupled with 'those from Dalmatia' as potential allies for the Emperor against Robert (VI. 7, p. 166).

⁵ The Patzinak War lasts from VI. 14 to VIII. 6; Coman raids in support of the pseudo-Diogenes occupy three chapters of Book X, and they appear again XIV. 8 and 9.

⁶ Other Scythians are the Sarmatians (or Mysi, III. 8, p. 89), but Anna only mentions them incidentally. They gave trouble under the Emperor Isaac Comnenus (*ibid.*), they were skilled archers (V. 7, p. 142), they drove the Patzinaks Southward (VI. 14, p. 182), yet joined the army of the Patzinak Tzelgu against the Empire (VII. 1, p. 188). Two of Alexius' captains were of the race (VII. 3, p. 195; X. 4, p. 281). Kadlec (*Camb. Med. Hist.* IV. 183) takes the names Scythians and Sarmatians as following one another in time but identical in meaning. Anna twice has Οὐζᾶς meaning 'Hun' (V. 7, p. 142; VII. 5, p. 201), but one man who bears this nickname is also called a Sarmatian (VII. 3, p. 195).

been established between the Don and the Danube, acting as middlemen between the Russians and the Byzantines. The advice given by Constantine VII to his son, to keep on friendly terms with the Patzinaks,¹ proves that in his day they were already a power to be reckoned with, but they did not come into immediate contact with the Empire till Bulgaria was crushed and the Greek troops got back to the Danube. As time went on the Patzinaks took every opportunity of crossing the river and gradually extending their domain Southward. Many, so we learn from all the chroniclers, were enrolled in the imperial army, but that did not prevent the tribe as a whole from harrying Greek territory.

A small spark in Alexius' reign lighted up the conflagration. One of the Manichaeans with whose kin Alexius had dealt harshly escapes from Byzantium and goes Northwards. There he joins himself to 'the Scythians living near the Danube', marries (in spite of having left a wife behind him) the daughter of one of their chiefs, and invites them to attack the Empire.² As to the campaign which now follows Anna is our sole authority, so that we have no means of testing her accuracy. Chalandon³ has worked out her chronology so carefully that we will not attempt to do it again; we will merely accept his pronouncement that the eclipse mentioned in VII. 2 is that of August 1, 1087. This dates the invasion of Tzelgu, 'a prominent chief of the Scythian army', and Solomon of Hungary, with their host of over 80,000 men, as occurring in the spring of the same year.⁴ With the varying success of the fighting we need not here deal. Alexius thinks the Patzinaks important enough for him to fight in person, to use trickery of a peculiarly unpleasing because sanctimonious kind in negotiation,⁵ to consult his officers anxiously as to plans, and to win allies by any means whatever. Even so he suffers a terrible defeat at Dristra. In this battle the Scythians advance with their scythe-armed chariots⁶ and work havoc among the Greek army, who when enemy reinforcements are reported turn and fly. Alexius performs marvels of valour, but finally beats a retreat to Beroe, where the Patzinaks allow him to ransom his prisoners,⁷ while

¹ *de Adm. imp.*, chs. 1-8. They also figure in ch. 37 (Vol. III, pp. 67-74, 164-7).

² VI. 4, p. 158. In VI. 14, p. 182, Anna explains that their original move Southwards as settlers had been caused by their being 'continually despoiled by the Sarmatians'. ³ p. 105, note 1. ⁴ VII. 1, p. 188. ⁵ VII. 2.

⁶ They could not fight without these, and they also used them both to carry their families, and as 'towers' to strengthen their line (VII. 3, p. 196; 6, p. 203; 9, p. 211; VIII. 5, p. 232; XIV. 7, p. 445).

⁷ They talk of killing prisoners (VII. 4, p. 200), but the Greeks actually do so (VIII. 6).

the adventures of George Palaeologus in his escape give a sparkle of interest after the gloomy battle scenes.

A new 'Scythian' tribe now comes on the stage. These are the Comans or Polovtzes, a Turkish tribe first found in the Ural Mountains, who from friends of their Patzinak kinsmen speedily turn to foes over a question of booty. A series of confusing transactions follow. The Comans go 'home' and then return again, and the Patzinaks make peace with Alexius and break it. Furthermore the Emperor has to contend not only with this enemy alarmingly near Byzantium but with treachery in his own army¹ and a bad attack of ague.² A slight success arouses wild enthusiasm at Constantinople, but the 'barbarous' hordes³ are still near, and it is discovered that the Turk Tzachas has been intriguing with them. A severe winter adds to the trials of the Greeks, and the next spring (1091) matters are so serious that Alexius, after collecting recruits howsoever and wheresoever he can, summons the 500 horsemen of Flanders back from Asia Minor to his aid. At this critical moment there appears a body of Comans, and unstable as they have hitherto proved as allies,⁴ they are yet eagerly welcomed by Alexius, who however keeps a river between them and his own troops.⁵ The Patzinaks in alarm make overtures both to the Emperor and to the Comans, but their hour has come. The humble turning of the Greeks to God is rewarded; they gain a complete victory, and the Patzinaks are so nearly annihilated that after one more defeat under John II history hears of them no more.⁶ From a modern point of view the success is marred by the murder of the prisoners, though at the time this has the good effect of terrifying Alexius' formidable allies the Comans, who

¹ The Scythian deserter Neantzes betrays Alexius' plans to his countrymen (VII. 9, p. 211), and later on shows lawless insolence 'worthy of a barbarian soul'.

² VII. 10, p. 213.

³ Their appearance inspired alarm and disgust (VIII. 1 and 2; XII. 8). Scythians glare 'barbarously' (XII. 8, p. 367). We do not however hear of any act of theirs as barbarous as Alexius' impaling the heads of slain enemies on spears (VIII. 2, p. 223).

⁴ Anna talks contemptuously of their 'easily led' and 'easily gulled' character (VIII. 4, p. 228). They are also 'deceitful' and 'reckless' (*δξυ*) (VIII. 5), and 'like true barbarians they are full of light-mindedness and fickleness in the course of nature' (X. 3, p. 276).

⁵ VIII. 4.

⁶ VIII. 5. If Zonaras (XVIII. 23) is right in saying that Alexius, after selling many as slaves, put a number of the sturdiest Patzinak prisoners with their wives and children into the theme of Moglena, and that they were there to his day, some portion of the nation must have become assimilated to the Empire. Bury (*Encycl. Brit.*, 'Later Roman Empire') says they were 'exterminated by John Comnenus in 1123'. Anna characteristically gives the credit for their disappearance to her father, and never mentions them in her Preface in enumerating the wars waged by her brother and husband.

fearing a like fate retreat hastily across the Northern ranges. Alexius is generous or prudent enough to send all their promised booty after them.¹ This is in 1091, and we do not meet the Comans again till two Books later,² when in 1094 they make the claims to sovereignty of a pretender (purporting to be a son of Romanus Diogenes) into an excuse for invading the Empire.³ It is interesting to note that this man comes across them at Cherson, where they have gone 'wandering as usual' for the 'sake of trade'. The Sacred Lots decree that Alexius shall march in person against the enemy, who, we may remark (though described as savages 'longing to batten on the blood of men, to be glutted with human flesh, and to bring back much booty'),⁴ are welcomed by many of the Northern towns. But the campaign resolves itself into individual acts of rather foolhardy bravery, and a most elaborate ruse concocted to entrap the pretender. With all this the Comans have little to do, and when the pseudo-Diogenes has been finally captured and blinded, they retreat rather tamely homewards.⁵ Once more only do they appear in Anna's pages. They cross the Danube in 1114, as recorded in the last chapters of Book XIV,⁶ but the very rumour of the Emperor's advance makes them turn and flee; jumping on rafts they re-cross the river and apparently another stream also before the Greek troops can catch them up. Anna's comment is so characteristic that it must be given in full:

The Emperor was grieved that the barbarians had not been overtaken by his armies, but he nevertheless considered this a piece of victory that he had driven back the barbarians by the mere sound of his name, and also that he had brought over many from the Manichaean heresy to our faith, thus setting up a double trophy, against the barbarians by his arms, and against the heretics by his most pious words.

Certainly nowhere do we find any contempt for any of these Northern foes as fighters either expressed or suggested.⁷ Even the final defeat of the Patzinaks was chiefly, Anna thought, due to moral causes.⁸ Indeed in the passage where their battle formation is described her words show nothing but admiration. 'They know by natural intelligence how to fight and stand

¹ VIII. 6.

² A raid by them is rumoured in VIII. 7, p. 236.

³ X. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 272. This stock phrase is as we have seen also used of the Manichaeans (VI. 14, p. 182).

⁵ X. 4.

⁶ The report of their intention causes Alexius to go to Philippopolis in XIV. 8, p. 449.

⁷ Their only foibles in the field are yelling in battle and turning prematurely to plunder.

⁸ VIII. 5; cf. VII. 3.

in a phalanx', their lines are well knit and fortified by their covered chariots 'as with towers',¹ and even their women are valiant in the fray. Whatever faults the Greeks committed as combatants, that of despising their enemy was not one.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

66. THE WEST IN GENERAL

AFTER the East and the North there remains to be considered the last and greatest source of danger to the Empire during Alexius' reign and for long afterwards, namely the West. We will take its various constituents in order.

With the extreme North-West Anna has little to do. Riant² has proved conclusively that Norwegians or Danes were to be found in all the armies and navies that fought round the Mediterranean, both before and during the first Crusade. But except for her references to the 'axe-bearing barbarians' of the Varangian Guard³ Anna never mentions Scandinavia, unless indeed the 'kings' who arrive at Constantinople after Godfrey de Bouillon included Eric the Good or Sigurd I of Norway.⁴

By her term Thule she probably means vaguely all the countries bordering on the North Sea,⁵ but when she adds the word 'island' she is doubtless thinking of Britain.⁶ She tells us that Bohemund (in 1107) landed at Aulon 'bringing an immense army of Franks and Celts, and all the men in the Greek service from the island of Thule, men who at that time had come over to him through force of circumstances'.⁷ Ordericus Vitalis⁸ says that King Henry I would not let Bohemund come to England, 'metuens ne sibi electos milites de ditione sua subtraheret', but the prince may well have had recruits both from Normandy and Britain (especially those Anglo-Saxons who still

¹ VII. 3, p. 196; 6, p. 203.

² *Expéditions etc.*, ch. III.

³ See pp. 588 sqq.

⁴ Eric went to the Crusade in 1102 and stopped in Constantinople on his way; Sigurd came there on his way home from Jerusalem which he reached in 1106 (Riant, *op. cit.* pp. 159-61, 195 sqq.).

⁵ She says the Varangians came from Thule (II. 10, p. 62; 11, p. 66). In VI. 11, p. 176, she uses 'famous Thule' rhetorically to mark the Northern limits of the Empire in its palmy days.

⁶ II. 11, p. 66; XII. 9, p. 370.

⁷ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς Θούλης νήσου στρατεύονται 'Ρωμαίους τότε δὴ αὐτῷ προσχωρήσαντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δυναστείαν (XII. 9, p. 370). *δυναστεία* in late Greek often = *δύναμις*. This sentence, as we saw in Ch. 56, hardly agrees with Anna's praise of Varangian loyalty.

⁸ Quoted by Du Cange in his note on XII. 9, p. 370 A.

resented the conquest of fifty years back), malcontents who had entered the Varangian Guard at Constantinople but now took the opportunity of joining Bohemund. We need not dwell on the 'Celtiberians' in the Norman prince's army, for Anna never speaks of Spain elsewhere, and seems to have no knowledge of the Moorish culture there or even of the Christian struggle of the Reconquista actually taking place in her day.¹ But she does say that Bohemund had many soldiers 'of the Germanic race',² and we must examine very briefly what she knew about Germans.

As we have pointed out before, her information on the subject is hazy, and she gives a garbled story of the Pope's maltreatment of German envoys.³ But she is quite aware of the standing subjects of contention between the 'king' (whom she never deigns to call Emperor) and the Papal see: first the Investiture Contest,⁴ then the German claim to appoint and dominate the Pope.⁵ Furthermore she gives a most spirited picture of the subsequent battle between king and Pope (placed, as Du Cange says, by 'all the German chroniclers' in 1080) when both armies 'played the man' and the whole plain 'was like a sea from the blood of the slaughter'. The combatants waded in it and many of the 30,000 who fell were smothered in this ghastly 'river of gore'.⁶ The fate of the day was decided by the death of 'Lantulph' (Rudolph), one of the two Saxon princes whom the Pope had won to his side by crowning them 'kings of the whole West'. The German monarch considered further fighting for the time unnecessary, and when he afterwards wished to besiege Rome he first tried to enlist the support of Robert Guiscard, who however sent the envoys away without committing himself.⁷

We next hear of King Henry just before the outbreak of hostilities between Robert and Alexius. The latter sends him a fulsome letter full of 'honeyed words, and all sorts of promises' to ask his aid,⁸ a letter which Anna lets us perceive was not

¹ She says that the battering-ram originated at Gades (XIII. 3, p. 382).

² XII. 9, p. 370. In XI. 12, p. 342, he announces his intention of enlisting Germans together with Lombards and Latins and Franks, all 'men mindful of Ares'.

³ I. 13. See Oster, *A. K.* Pt. II, pp. 52 sqq., and p. 308, above.

⁴ I. 13, p. 31. [The Pope] 'accused King Henry of not giving benefices gratis, but selling them for gifts, and entrusting the episcopate to unworthy men'.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ I. 13, p. 33.

⁷ I. 13, pp. 33, 34.

⁸ III. 10. Anna as it were apologizes for this by saying that her father was 'not remiss as to the people close to [Robert] behind his back' (p. 93), and that he knew that 'above all others the king of Germany was able to do anything he wished against Robert' (*ibid.*).

the first. As a specimen of diplomatic bombast this letter to the 'most Christian brother' of the Emperor is of considerable interest; but the humility of its tone is the really surprising part. Alexius praises Henry's piety, admits to feeling 'insecurity and unrest' from fear of Robert, and pleads for assistance almost on bended knees. He is sending money and purple stuffs now by a responsible envoy, and will send more money and many 'dignities' (ἀξιώματα) with their appropriate 'salary' (ρῶγα), presumably for the German nobles, if only the king will swear to an alliance with the Emperor. A German marriage with Alexius' heir presumptive, son of his brother Isaac, is almost timidly suggested, and the letter concludes with an enumeration of the various relics and other objects sent as 'pledges of friendship' (δεξιωμάτων ἔνεκεν), and with fervent invocations of blessings on the king, 'lover of God's true name'. This letter apparently proved abortive, for after his Durazzo defeat the Emperor writes again to Henry.¹ The text is not given, but we see that the proposed marriage has not been carried out, and that the German must be urged to attack Robert's Lombard possessions 'according to the existing compact'. This time Henry complies, and Robert hurries back to Italy to meet the new danger, joining his forces with those of the Pope. Before battle can be joined, the king learns how very serious and indeed crushing the defeat of his ally Alexius had really been, and 'departed to his native land, considering this (the best form of) victory, not to expose himself to dangers for no profit'. Robert contents himself with plundering the German camp and sending a few of his men to pursue the retreating king, apparently in vain. And in this very unheroic fashion Henry passes out of Anna's pages; as regards Robert and the Pope the German sword² has proved to Alexius only a broken reed.

From Teutons we proceed to the Latin races of the West, those races between whom Anna hardly deigns to discriminate, and who are all in her eyes the 'barbarians'³ *par excellence*. She

¹ V. 3.

² The Nemitz who garrison Constantinople in II. 9 and 10 are Germans according to Du Cange, though Ordericus Vitalis (Pt. III, Lib. 7, ch. 4, *P. L.* 188, col. 519) says their leader was Raimundus Flandrensis. They change sides with cynical indifference.

³ Bury (*Hellenistic Age*, pp. 25 sqq.) says that this contemptuous attitude towards 'barbarians' arose in Greece as a dogma after the Persian Wars; up to that time βάρβαρος had merely meant 'non-Greek', in no depreciatory sense. The Stoics and Christianity, especially as set forth by St. Paul, combated racial intolerance with more or less success. But it remained very prevalent in the Byzantine Empire and men justified their exclusivist tendencies from the Old Testament. We have mentioned the fact that Archbishop Eustathius of Thessalonica thought it necessary to state that God made Barbarians as well as Greeks, and hears their prayers no less

calls them indifferently Latins, Franks, or Celts,¹ thereby denoting any one from the other side of the Adriatic, and predicates for them all a number of most unpleasant vices. They are so 'greedy for gain' (*ἐρασιχρήματοι*) that they will 'sell for an obol even what they hold most dear',² including their wives and children.³ They are 'unstable and easily led', and their thirst for money makes them 'lightly upset their contracts for any cause that occurs'.⁴ Or again: 'Such is the race of Celts, changeable and in a swift turning-point of time carried in opposite directions, and you may see the same man sometimes boasting that he will upset the whole earth, sometimes cringing and brought down to the very dust, especially when he falls in with stronger minds'.⁵ Franks will change sides in the middle of a battle, and no man can rely on them as allies.⁶ Insolence (*ὑβρις*), a peculiarly barbarian trait that marked the Latins and especially the Crusaders as a whole,⁷ is strikingly displayed by the Celt Urselius,⁸ by Italus, chief of the philosophers,⁹ and above all by Pope Gregory VII.¹⁰ Tancred makes extravagant boasts 'after the manner of his race',¹¹ who are 'naturally loqua-

(*P. G.* 135, col. 708). Zonaras (pref., 1) says some writers spoil their histories by dialect or 'barbarous' words. Nicetas Acominatus, after describing the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, lays down his pen, for 'History, most glorious creation of the Hellenes', must not be called on to chronicle 'the deeds of barbarians' (*Alex. Duc. Murz.* 6, p. 373). Attaliates (p. 107) describes Franks generally as 'rejoicing in blood and murder'.

¹ It is chiefly about the Crusaders that she is so contemptuously indeterminate. She uses 'Sicilian' quite accurately (*V.* 8, p. 143) for the people of the 'island lying near Italy', and 'Italians' and 'Lombards' all belong to the Peninsula. In one place (*XI.* 12, p. 342) she strings together as separate peoples Lombards and Latins and Germans and Franks, but as it is a rhetorical passage we need not assume that she distinguished between all four; certainly in other places she does not.

² *VI.* 6, p. 163; 7, p. 165; *X.* 5, p. 283; 6, p. 286 (*bis*); *XI.* 3, p. 316; *XIV.* 2, pp. 424, 428.

³ *XI.* 2, p. 312. As we have seen, the giving and taking of bribes was by no means confined to the Latin races. Greeks from the days of Thucydides had been constantly addicted thereto.

⁴ *X.* 5, p. 283; *XIV.* 2, p. 423. So the Pope and Robert break their oaths like true 'barbarians' (*I.* 13, p. 32).

⁵ *XIII.* 10, p. 402.

⁶ *I.* 6, p. 14; *XI.* 6, p. 325. Untrustworthiness is one of Anna's favourite accusations against 'Latins', e.g. *XIV.* 2, p. 428.

⁷ *X.* 10, p. 300; *XIV.* 2, p. 423. Hugh even calls himself βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων (*X.* 7).

⁸ We may compare the *ὑβρις καὶ πλεονεξία* which Polybius attributes to foreign troops (*Hist.* I. 81. 10, 11). In *Al.* 1, p. 3, the word is not used but the sense is there.

⁹ *V.* 8 and 9. He is accused of 'barbaric folly', making him despise all teachers and even the great Michael Psellus. He bullied and struck his dialectical opponents and could not be a good teacher because of his temper. In his arguing *ὑβρις ξυνεπώδιζεν ὑβριν*, 'violence followed on violence'. We are twice told of his 'uneducated and barbaric character'.

¹⁰ *I.* 13, p. 31 (three times).

¹¹ *X.* 9, p. 294; *XIV.* 2, p. 423, and 4 *passim*. Cf. Robert's boasts *V.* 1, p. 126.

cious and verbose'. With this goes the haughty conceit that never owns to a fault, and the overweening ambition that is never satisfied¹ and stops at nothing,² though Anna admits that Latins are brave and daring,³ especially on horseback.⁴

On three occasions Anna gives her candid opinion on the matter. 'The race of the Celts, as far as one may judge, is always very hot and quick, but when it has embarked on an enterprise, it is unrestrainable.'⁵ And again: 'All the barbarian race' (here referring to the Norman Bohemund in particular) 'is impossible to hold back from the enterprise on which it has started, and nothing, however burdensome, will it not bear, when once it has launched itself on voluntary hardships.'⁶ Finally, when the Crusaders think of leaving Antioch to its fate, we read:

'Not only in other respects is the race of Celts headstrong and imprudent, but as to strategic order and science it has never used them at all. Rather when war and battle are at hand their courage shouts aloud and they know no restraint (and this is true not only of the common soldiers but of the leaders too), rushing irresistible into the midst of the enemy's phalanxes, if their opponents yield entirely. But if as often happens the enemy set their forces with military skill and cleverly follow after them, all their boldness is turned into its opposite; for to tell the whole truth the Celts at their first onslaught are invincible, but after this they are very easy to overcome, both because of the weight of their arms, and from the passionateness and heedlessness of their disposition.'⁷

Many of these accusations are reiterated in Anna's descriptions of individual men. But enough has been said to show that, however much her father might appreciate 'Celts' as mercenaries and dread them as opponents, to his daughter they were always the lesser breeds without the law. Whenever she brings in some of their national peculiarities, whether it is their act of homage 'holding out their right hands, as is their ancestral manner of pledging their troth',⁸ or the way they grow their hair,⁹ or their custom of ordeal by single combat,¹⁰ or 'the art

¹ X. 6, p. 287; 10, p. 300; XI. 7, p. 328; 12, p. 341; XIV. 4, p. 434.

² XIV. 7, p. 445.

³ IV. 6, p. 116; VI. 1, p. 154; 14, p. 184.

⁴ V. 6, p. 140; X. 3, p. 277; XI. 6, p. 325; XIII. 8, p. 398. So Callicles (Poem XXXII. 1, 5) speaks of *κόμπος ἐξ ἵππασμάτων* in connexion with a dead Norman prince, a 'trophy-winning horseman'.

⁵ X. 5, p. 286: cf. XI. 2, p. 314, *ἀφορμή* = 'enterprise', is a favourite unclassical expression of Anna's, and *ἀκάθεκτος* = 'unrestrainable' is applied by her to the *δρμή* of various foes (IV. 4, p. 108; VIII. 3, p. 226; XI. 9, p. 333).

⁶ XI. 12, p. 341.

⁷ XI. 6, p. 325.

⁸ I. 6, p. 14.

⁹ VI. 7, p. 165. Robert grew a beard for a vow, 'being ever anxious to keep the customs of his own race'. Contrast Bohemund, XIII. 10, p. 404.

¹⁰ V. 5, p. 137.

of war as it is among the Italians',¹ or the practice of challenging all comers, so vividly described by the 'pure Frank, one of the nobility', who has just insulted the Emperor to his face,² or their habit of calling their enemies opprobrious names,³ we cannot fail to detect the ring of contempt. Manuel Comnenus as we know aspired to be a knight like those of Western chivalry, but in the days of Alexius such a wish would have seemed utter madness, 'barbaric folly' indeed.

When we consider the various 'Latin' races separately, we find that of Italians Anna has little to say whether in blame or praise. The remains of George Maniaces' 'Italian' army serve first the rebel Bryennius and then Alexius.⁴ The 'Italians' who are called in 'to alliance' by the Sicilians when 'revolting against the rule of the Greeks'⁵ were doubtless some of the Southern Italians who had made themselves independent.⁶ But the whole story as told by Anna differs curiously from that in Cedrenus⁷ and Zonaras.⁸ They represent Maniaces as sent from Constantinople to assist one of two warring Saracen brothers who are ruling Sicily in 1031. Before he reaches the island the brothers have made peace and called in help from Africa against the Greeks. But Maniaces defeats 50,000 'Carthaginians', takes thirteen Sicilian cities, and 'gradually advancing reduced the whole island'. Another African army comes and is defeated, but its leader is allowed to escape, and Maniaces' anger against the careless Greek admiral causes the latter to intrigue for and obtain the disgrace of his commander-in-chief. On the ground of intended 'rebellion' (*ἀποστασία*) Maniaces is summoned back to the capital and imprisoned. This is apparently in the opinion of the two historians Maniaces' only visit to Sicily, for when he is restored to favour by the Empress Zoe, and sent back to his post in 1042 to try and

¹ V. 8, p. 143.

² X. 10, and XI. 3, p. 317. Cf. Scott's *Count Robert of Paris*.

³ XII. 8, p. 367.

⁴ I. 5, p. 11; VII. 9, p. 210. As a matter of fact it is not accurate to call these soldiers 'Italians' or 'Latins' at all. Cedrenus (p. 756 D) plainly shows that these 'troops in Italy' were Greeks, and as such anxious to go with Maniaces across the Adriatic, 'thirsting to see their own homes'. In any case, as the career of Maniaces ended with his death in 1043, and the two campaigns alluded to in the text were in 1078 and 1090 respectively, it is clear that the name of the general must have clung to the contingent long after the men who actually fought under him were dead.

⁵ V. 8, p. 143.

⁶ Cedrenus (p. 756 C) speaks of 'Italy around Capua and Beneventum and Naples', as if the separateness and independence of these three towns was an accepted fact even in 1042. In XIII. 4, p. 387, Anna alludes to *Μαϊστορομήδου* at Naples as if these were a family, but Du Cange (note *ad loc.*) explains them as the imperial *Magistri Militum*, who had shaken off the yoke of the Empire.

⁷ pp. 740-4, 755 B-757 C.

⁸ *Epit.* XVII. 15 and 22.

regain for the Empire its old territories, it is in Italy only that we hear of him from them, and it is in Italy that, incensed by news from home, he has himself proclaimed Emperor, supported by 'many of the army as a warlike man'. Now in all this there is no hint of any enemies in Sicily for the Greeks except Arabs, whether local or imported from Carthage. When Maniaces fought, he 'pitched his camp against the Hagarenes'; when he was disgraced, 'the island not long after passed to the Hagarenes, only Messina . . . remaining to the Greeks'. It is true that Cedrenus represents Maniaces as building citadels in all the captured Sicilian towns and putting in 'sufficient guards so that the natives (οἱ ἐγχώριοι) should not be able to get back the cities by craft'; also that after his recall 'the natives having summoned forces from the Carthaginians attacked the cities and destroyed the citadels, overpowering the guards, and recovered all the cities except Messina'. But as Sicily had been in Saracen hands long before the taking of the last fortress in 965,¹ we should not naturally take 'natives' for true Greeks. Anna² puts the matter thus: 'The Sicilians, when they revolted from the rule of the Greeks and turned to wars and battles against them, summoned the Italians to an alliance . . . but when, while Monomachus was wielding the sceptre of the Empire of the Greeks, the famous³ George Maniaces seizes Sicily as a usurper' (τυραννήσας τὴν Σικελίαν κάτεσχε), some of the Italians who had originally come to help the Sicilians escaped home. The first sentence distinctly ascribes the war of 1038-40, not to an attempt by the Greeks to regain Sicily from the Saracens, but to a revolt of the Sicilians against a 'Greek rule' that for seventy years had entirely ceased to exist. The second sentence represents Maniaces at the time of his usurpation as having 'seized' Sicily as well as Italy. As to the second point Anna is probably right; any attempt to confute her from the other two writers resolves itself into an argument from silence.⁴ But as to the

¹ Tout (*Empire and Papacy*, p. 103) describes Sicily as 'entirely Saracen since the capture of Syracuse' (877 or 878).

² V. 8, p. 143.

³ Except for calling him ἐκείνος Anna pays no tribute to the brilliant career of Maniaces first in the East and then in Sicily (Cedrenus, pp. 727, 741-4).

⁴ The same silence as to any visit of Maniaces to Sicily in 1043 is to be seen in Lup. Protosp. (Muratori, *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 43), and also in Anon. *Barenis Chron.* (*ibid.* p. 151), who says 'Maniaki se fecit Imp. in Italia' (1042 Ind. 10) and speaks of him at 'Odronto' in the following year. So Psellus (*Chron.*, Const. IX, Byz. T., p. 124) confines Maniaces' action to τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τμήμα of Italy only. But again such silence is not conclusive, and still less need we trust the highly coloured picture of 'Maniacus' (as a monster of cruelty to young and old and even to monks) in Gul. Apul., *de Normannis*, Bk. I, concluding lines. Here Tarentum is the scene of Maniaces' assuming the purple.

first point (though the matter presents great difficulties), she receives support from an unexpected quarter. Gaufredus Malaterra,¹ in describing how Maniaces (in 1038) conquered Sicily, says that there were in Messina 'strenuissimi suae' (i.e. Greek) 'gentis milites' who made a sortie and attacked him. They were defeated by his allies, the chronicler's admired Normans, and Maniaces marched through the island 'omnia subjugando'. At Syracuse his attack was resisted by 'Arcadius quidam qui urbi principabatur' (obviously another Greek), and he finally fought a battle against 60,000 'Siculi'. If we put these statements alongside of Anna's, it would seem that the men of Greek blood in Sicily, oppressed by Saracens as one might have supposed them to be, were far from well disposed to the Empire. If Maniaces came ostensibly to free them from the Saracen yoke, they would appear to have turned against their liberators and to have summoned Italian aid rather than obey Byzantium as of old.

Later on we have τὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν,² meaning first 'the people of the Italians', then in the next sentence 'the ways of the Italians'.³ Italians are also correctly said to occupy the coast of the Adriatic opposite to Illyria.⁴ Only one other time are they introduced in a body, when Bohemund uses the Scythians captured from the imperial army as exhibits to stir up 'the Italians round the Pope'.⁵ As to individual Italians we hear little. We have fully dealt with Italus in another connexion, and also with the Pope and his subordinate clergy, secular and regular.

Turning to the various Italian towns, we find Brindisi figuring as an important port,⁶ together with Bari⁷ and Otranto.⁸

¹ *Historia Sicula*, I. 7, 8 (Muratori, *op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 551).

² She never calls Italy affectingly 'the land of the Ausones' as does *Anon. Syn. Chron.* p. 178. 'Lord of the Ausones' is a title given by Callicles to the Emperor. (Poems XII, XXIV, and XXXII.)

³ V. 8, p. 145. In the first sentence we read that under Michael Ducas VII, 'the peoples of the Latins' [here meaning 'Normans'] 'and of the Italians were struggling against the Greeks, and the occupation of all Lombardy' [described in V. 8, p. 144, as ἐν ὑπὸ Ρωμαίους τελοῦσα] 'and Italy was contemplated'. This occupation actually occurred when Bari, the last Greek town in Italy, was taken by the Normans in 1071, the very year of Michael's accession. In the second sentence Italus is sent to Durazzo on a diplomatic errand 'as understanding the ways' [or possibly 'the language'] 'of the Italians'. But he 'was detected betraying our interests', an act of perfidy which is soon forgiven with the strange and uncertain clemency of those times.

⁴ XII. 9, p. 370.

⁵ XII. 8, p. 367.

⁶ I. 15, p. 35, ἐπίνειον τῆς ὁλῆς Ἰαπωνίας εὐλιμενώτατον. Robert sails from there I. 16, p. 37; III. 12, p. 97.

⁷ Hugh and Bohemund sail from here X. 7, p. 288; XII. 9, p. 369.

⁸ I. 14, p. 34; 16, p. 37, &c. Robert's second crossing is made from there (VI. 5, p. 159). It is vainly besieged by Contostephanus (XII. 8).

Salerno comes in as Robert's capital,¹ and Melpha is the district round it.² Pisa and Genoa like Venice had fleets and might be useful allies or dangerous enemies. Rome is frequently mentioned, almost always in connexion with the Pope; pilgrims land at Cotrone (Croton) from the Eastern Empire to go thither, while Beneventum is a half-way house between Rome and Salerno, between the Pope and Robert.³ Robert is buried⁴ in a monastery at Venosa.

So far we have not found much of interest in Anna's statements about Italy as distinct from Sicily. Probably her only first-hand knowledge came from the envoy of the Bishop of Bari,⁵ and he flourished nearly forty years before she actually wrote her history. In any case, except as the starting-point of Robert and Bohemund Italy did not much concern her. It is however necessary to say a few words on her use of the terms Lombardy, Apulia,⁶ and Venetia, as thereby hangs a tale of Byzantine pride and its fall. The word Lombardy needs explanation, and we must start by reminding ourselves that the kingdom of Lombardy and the theme of Lombardy were in two quite distinct parts of Italy. Du Cange⁷ has pointed out that in a charter of Charlemagne Lombardy is said to be another name for the whole of Italy, but that in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Themat.* it means the theme of Longobardia as it existed in the middle of the tenth century, made up of Calabria and Apulia. Certainly its modern use as equivalent to the Po valley would have been unintelligible to Anna, though historically that is not without foundation, as Pavia was the capital of the old Lombard kingdom which reached from the Alps to Terracina. This kingdom existed from 568 till 774, when Desiderius was deposed by his son-in-law Charlemagne. During these two centuries the Byzantine Empire kept at least a partial

¹ I. 12, 13, 14, 15; V. 3, pp. 132, 133; VI. 5, p. 158.

² I. 12, p. 30. Du Cange says that Anna uses the wrong word here and means Amalfi, which is certainly much nearer Salerno than Melfi is. This view is supported by the fact that in V. 1, p. 125, we read of settlers ἀπὸ Μέλφης καὶ Βενετίας in Durazzo, and in VI. 6, p. 163, the foreigners are called Ἀμαλφῆνοι καὶ Βενέτικοι, looking as if Anna confused the two towns. See p. 402, note 3, above.

³ I. 12, p. 29; 13, p. 32. For 'mercenaries from Rome' see VIII. 5, p. 230. Once we read of marbles 'brought by previous Emperors from Rome' to Constantinople (VII. 2, p. 190).

⁴ VI. 6, p. 163.

⁵ III. 12, p. 99.

⁶ Of any distinction between Northern and Southern Italians such as the *Anon. Gesta Francorum* (ch. 2) makes by using the terms 'Lombardi et Longobardi' there is no trace in Anna: she only has the one word Λογγιβαρδία throughout, and the adjective Λογγιβαρδός, only used twice, in XI. 12, p. 342; XV. 7, p. 485.

⁷ Note on I. 11, p. 24 c. The statement of Fuchs (*op. cit.* p. 34), based on Tzetzes, *Chil.* VI. 683, that 'Longobardenland' = 'Norditalien' is, as appears from the last note, untrue of the *Alexias* at least.

hold on what was later called the Lombard Theme, and when Frankish or Italian kings, or after 961 German emperors, were ruling the North as delimited above, the South was comparatively unaffected by all the changes of dynasty.¹ The great danger to Calabria and Apulia in the early ninth century was from the Saracens who overran those parts with seemingly irresistible force. But by 890 we find the Greeks once more in possession of the all-important town of Bari, and ruling the theme of Lombardy by a Catapan.² The Saracen peril was over, but the colonies (if we may use the word) of men truly Lombard by race, left over in Apulia from the days when these Northern invaders had poured Southwards along the Apennines, were not only troublesome neighbours to the Byzantines, but indirectly the cause of their ruin. In 1017 during a border war these Lombards called Norman adventurers to their aid, and this was the beginning of the end for the theme, Lombard in name but Greek in citizenship. The Normans settled in Southern Italy. Robert Guiscard was invested in 1059 by Pope Nicolas II with the dukedom of Calabria and Apulia (or, as Anna puts it, 'having ascended to the ducal eminence he was named Duke of all Lombardy') to be held as a fief of the Holy See,³ and in 1071 Bari, the last Byzantine possession on the Western side of the Adriatic, was lost to the Empire. If Robert did, as Anna alleges, offer to Alexius before the Battle of Durazzo that on certain conditions he would 'reckon Lombardy itself as belonging to the Emperor',⁴ the conditions were 'wholly impossible

¹ L. Gay, in his *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin*, gives a more detailed account. He says that in 774 Italy was divided into three states. 'Italie franque, Italie pontificale, Italie lombarde', with the Byzantine territories only 'morceaux épars' among the Lombards and in the next century cut off from connexion with Constantinople by the Saracen command of the sea, pp. 3, 4. He then spends seventeen chapters in telling how Basil I (867-86), first as the ally then as the enemy of the Frankish Emperor Louis II, began to restore the sway of Byzantium in South Italy, and his successors went on with the work in the teeth of Saracen, Lombard, German, and Papal opposition. 'Dans les dernières années de Basile II, entre 1020 et 1025 la puissance byzantine est à son apogée.' Its rapid and final decline was due to the Normans, pp. 431 sqq. Chalandon (*Hist. de la domination normande*) points out that when the eleventh century opened Calabria was still Greek in language, law, and Church ritual, and that under Basil II the Lombardized Apulia was won back for the Empire. Even after the Normans came Byzantine influence did not disappear. Robert Guiscard allowed the Greek administrative organization (official names, &c.) to survive in Calabria and Apulia, and the former province long kept its Greek language and the Greek rite performed by Greek clergy.

² From *κατεπάνω*, used by Anna with *τῶν ἀξιωματῶν* in III. 10, p. 94.

³ I. 12, p. 27. In June 1080 Gregory VII was driven by necessity to confirm this donation, and according to Anna added regal dignity to Robert's titles (I. 13, p. 32), 'though before this he [the Pope] had not been friendly towards him'. In 1081 Herman, a step-nephew of Robert's, is 'prefect' (*ἀρχηγός*) of Lombardy, and not only separate from but hostile to Robert (Du Cange on III. 10, p. 93 A), but this implies no connexion with Byzantium.

⁴ IV. 6, p. 113.

and injurious to the rule of the Greeks', and in any case Robert's decisive victory made the whole bargain fall to the ground. Longobardia had for ever ceased to be a Greek province,¹ and when Anna uses the term she refers neither to the old Lombard kingdom nor to the theme of later days, but somewhat vaguely to the territory of the hated Norman, with Salerno (captured by him in the past) as the seat of his 'ducal rank'.² Yet conservatism is so strong in her that when Robert parades the pseudo-Michael through the towns of Southern Italy, Anna talks of his stirring them up 'to revolt' (*πρὸς ἀποστασίαν*) just as though their tie with Byzantium had not been already finally severed. This however is purely rhetorical imperialism; when she comes to details she accepts facts as they are. Calabria she never mentions, and Apulia is used by itself or with Lombardy to describe Robert's realm. He ruthlessly impresses recruits of all ages and exacts hostages 'from Lombardy and Apulia', he appoints his son Roger 'archon of all Apulia' in his absence; by his audacity he had become master of 'all the towns and lands of Lombardy, besides Apulia itself'; to Apulia his dead body is carried back.⁴ Nowhere does Anna advance the smallest claim to this province as even theoretically part of the Empire.

Still more remarkable is the way she talks of Venice. Venice had been virtually independent for nearly three centuries, and Anna does not attempt to deny it. If the agreement of 810 between Charlemagne and Nicephorus I had left the Venetians technically vassals to the Eastern Empire,⁵ this theory as years went on had less and less relation to fact. Certainly in 1081 their ostensible lord Alexius had to buy Venetian support at sea by 'offers and gifts', reward with 'a thousand benefits' the messengers who brought news of victory, and send 'sufficient sums to the Duke of Venice and those ruling under him'.⁶ The

¹ When in V. 8, p. 144, Anna says that in the days of Maniaces (1042-3) Lombardy 'was still reckoned under the Greeks', she clearly implies that it afterwards ceased to be so.

² V. 3, p. 132. The previous Lombard prince of Salerno, Mascabeles (the Gaimarus of Latin chroniclers), had evidently paid no allegiance to the Empire (I. 11, p. 24).

³ I. 15, p. 37.

⁴ I. 14, p. 34; 16, pp. 37, 38; IV. 1, pp. 103, 104; VI. 6, p. 162. In III. 12, p. 99, she correctly says that Pyrrhus fought the Romans there, and in XII. 9, p. 370, she mentions 'the land of the Apulians' as being on the opposite coast of the Adriatic from Dalmatia.

⁵ It seems probable that they were actually and not only formally dependent till 840, when they made their first contract on their own account with other Italian cities under the auspices of Lothar. They had learnt through the weakness of the Eastern Empire that they must fight Slavonic and Saracen pirates alone, and when the Emperors grew stronger in the tenth century it was too late to reimpose their authority.

⁶ IV. 2, pp. 105-7. The 'Duke' at this moment was Domenico Selvo, who had

Venetians make their terms with the Emperor 'through envoys' as between equals, and Alexius responds with a golden bull. On their second appearance as indispensable allies at sea, this curious state of relations is even more marked. Alexius promises Venice 'a manifold reward', her sailors feel themselves bound by 'covenants' with him, acting not as obedient subjects but as trusty allies,¹ and in the end his munificence to them is lavish. Gifts and honours are showered on them; the Doge has the rank and income of Protosebastos, the Patriarch those of 'Most Honourable'. Various Venetian churches get yearly grants of gold, and to St. Mark are assigned rich revenues from real property in Constantinople. This was royal bounty indeed for service rendered. But however great the naval skill of the Venetians may have been,² the reward seems excessive, and disaster subsequently fell upon the Empire from its gift to another state of the absolute right of free and untaxed trading. This was the fortunate lot of Venice 'in all the lands under the authority of the Greeks'. As Anna expresses it, her citizens were 'outside all Greek authority',³ and the Empire lived to rue the day. For over a century the Jeshurun of the Adriatic waxed fat, and finally kicked against its benefactress in the treachery of 1204.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

67. THE WEST. THE NORMANS AND GUISCARD

AT last we come to the Normans, who first in the harassing Illyrian campaign and then in the Crusade loom so large in Anna's eyes that she seems to see a Norman⁴ in every

married a sister of Michael VII. He was probably specially interested in exposing the pseudo-Michael. Anna characteristically seizes the occasion of this first mention of Venice to bring in a bit of archaeological learning—that to Venetian invention was due the 'blue' colour in the horse races at Constantinople (IV. 2, p. 105 B, and see Du Cange's note).

¹ VI. 5, pp. 160, 161.

² Anna praises this skill in them (IV. 2, and VI. 5), as dispassionately as (later on) in the 'barbarian' Pisan fleet (XI. 10, p. 336).

³ VI. 5, p. 162.

⁴ She uses 'Normandy' (and 'Norman') with some accuracy as the birthplace of Robert (I. 10, p. 23; II. 1, p. 24), and famed for horsemanship (X. 3, p. 277). But the *Νορμάνοι* who behaved so ill under Peter the Hermit (X. 6) were probably Germans ('Alamanni', *Anon. Gesta Francorum*, ch. 2), and the *Νορμάνων φοσσάρον* led by two chiefs from Flanders, which Anna says arrived in Constantinople after the death of Godfrey at Jerusalem, is pronounced by Du Cange (note on XI. 8, p. 330b) to have really consisted of Lombards, with some German and French

Westerner. Peter the Hermit and Godfrey de Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois and Raoul and Baldwin, they are all to Anna 'barbarians' of the same evil breed.¹ If Raymond of St. Gilles stands out from the rest, it is not as a Provençal, for she would not have known the difference, but as the one man of them who made himself acceptable to her father.

The keynote is struck in the very first chapter. Urselius the Celt, known to us through other writers as Roussel de Bailleul, having 'swelled out into great fortune', becomes a 'grievous rebel, most tyrannous in soul', and ravages 'almost all the lands of the East'. He shows himself 'pre-eminent' even over men of great military experience, he swoops down 'like a hurricane' or 'in the manner of a thunderbolt', and is 'irresistible in his attacks'. All these qualities, which of course only enhance those of his victorious opponent, reappear again and again in Anna's pages when she talks of some notorious 'Frank'.

Urselius is soon conquered, but Alexius' next Norman foe, Robert Guiscard, dominates the scene from the middle of Book I to the middle of Book VI.² So important is he that his personality is twice fully described,³ to say nothing of judgments on him incidentally introduced.⁴ He first appears as 'an irresistible evil and incurable disease' brought on the Empire by fate, or 'to speak more piously' by the permission of Providence. He is 'that braggart Robert famed for his tyrannical soul, whom Normandy produced but whom evil (*φαυλότης*) of every form nurtured and fostered'. Yet Anna is fair-minded enough to put down his invasion of the Empire not only to his own coveting of its sceptre but largely also to the folly of Michael VII in affiancing his son to Robert's daughter, in that 'foreign and barbarous marriage contract'⁵ which gave the Norman an excuse for interfering in Byzantine affairs. 'Now

counts added. If the leaders were counts of Flanders at all, they must have been brothers of the Robert Count of Flanders who having been to Jerusalem before the First Crusade (VII. 6, p. 201) had promised and duly sent 500 horsemen to the Emperor's aid (VII. 7, p. 205; VIII. 3, p. 227). For the question of Alexius' letter to Count Robert see p. 457, note 1, below.

¹ Wm. Miller, in his article on Anna Comnena (*Quarterly Rev.*, January 1920), points out that Anna's birth occurred 'at an interesting moment in the history not only of the Greek Empire but of Christendom . . . the time when [or rather two years after the time when] the Medieval West and the Medieval East first met; when the Normans . . . first crossed the Adriatic and Ionian seas to attack the Greek Empire'.

² Only Book II, dealing with Alexius' accession, has no mention of Robert.

³ I. 10, p. 24; VI. 7, p. 165.

⁴ IV. 8, p. 121; V. 1, p. 126.

⁵ I. 10, p. 23. As other foreign betrothals were not at all uncommon, this passage shows that Anna resented the idea of this particular one partly because of its fatal consequences, but partly from personal jealousy. See p. 12, above.

this Robert was Norman by race, obscure in rank,¹ tyrannical in mind, very crafty (*πανουργότατος*)² in soul, noble in fight, most formidable in attacking the wealth and abundance of great men, unfailing in achievement, turning the objects of his aim into inevitable facts. And in body he was so tall as to surpass the tallest, ruddy in complexion with tawny hair, broad shoulders, and eyes which almost emitted sparks.³ Above all he was 'well proportioned from the top of his head to his feet', and his shout like that of a Homeric hero 'would put many myriads to flight'.⁴ Anna winds up this description, full as it is of admiration virtually wrung from her, by saying: 'He was of course a slave to no man, subject to none of all the world; for such are great natures, men say, even if they are of humble rank.'

Then follows a description reminding us of David in the Cave of Adullam or Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest. 'Coming from Normandy with a few horsemen (there were five horsemen and thirty footmen in all) he departed from his native land and spent his time in the ridges and caves and hills of Lombardy, ruling a robber-band and attacking wayfarers, sometimes taking their horses, sometimes also other articles, and weapons.' But worse is to follow. 'In his case the prelude to livelihood was bloodshedding and many murders,' and we have the grim story first of Robert's treachery and savage cruelty to his rich father-in-law Mascabeles, otherwise Gaimarus of Salerno, whose teeth and eyes he knocks out,⁵ then of his growing ambitions for Empire and his belief, real or pretended, (for like Odysseus he is 'a man of many wiles') in the cause of the pseudo-Michael. His wife Gaita, subsequently the Amazon of the Durazzo battle, here surprisingly appears as restraining him from war 'against Christians',⁶ but he gets round her objections and those of his counts, and proceeds on his lawless path, aided by well-chosen alliances of his own and by the fortuitous quarrel between the German king and the Pope which made the latter glad to enlist Norman support.⁷ In his contract with Gregory Anna repre-

¹ I. 10, p. 23; IV. 1, p. 104. This same point is insisted on about Bohemund (X. 11, pp. 301, 303).

² Zonaras calls him *ἀνὴρ πανουργός καὶ πολεμικώτατος* (XVIII. 22).

³ I. 10, p. 24. There is a lacuna here, where we should expect to find the colour of the eyes.

⁴ Robert boasts that by this *ἐμβόημα* he could 'all but shake the earth, and confound whole phalanxes' (V. 1, p. 126).

⁵ I. 11. The wealth of details in these early stories seems disproportionately great. However, it all serves to show that from the beginning Robert was *τὰ πάντα δεινός, πολυτροπώτατος, κακουργότατος* and *ῥαδιουργότατος* (I. 11, pp. 25, 26; 12, p. 29). The treachery to Mascabeles seems to be alluded to in Cec. *Strat.* pp. 34-5.

⁶ I. 12, p. 29; 15, p. 35; IV. 6, p. 116.

⁷ I. 12 and 13.

sents Robert as utterly false and perjured:¹ when he comes back later from his triumphant Illyrian campaign and keeps his word in helping the Pope, it is simply because his own Lombardy is threatened.² Even in collecting troops, hostages and 'tribute' his barbarity is unparalleled, worse than Herod's,³ though Anna grudgingly admits the 'daring and force and bravery and untameable spirit', common to him and that 'on-rushing thunderbolt' Bohemund. Indeed the son and father together are 'pungent smoke preceding a fire', only to be compared to the insect-pests of the Prophet Joel.

Nothing stops Robert, not even the news from Constantinople that Alexius has succeeded Botaniates on the throne and that the deposed Michael is alive and well, so that all cause for a war based on the late Emperor's supposed injuries to the house of Ducas and the Norman bride is at an end. Robert merely threatens the news-bearer with death and supports the pseudo-Michael with greater ardour than ever, though Anna would have us know that in this too he was treacherous and double-faced.⁴ At last he sails with a large host from Brindisi to Corfu and, except for sinister intrigues with Monomachatus the Governor of Durazzo,⁵ we hear nothing further of him till the middle of Book III, when Alexius has been already a few months on the throne.⁶ Learning of the danger at hand, the Emperor makes his mother Regent, collects troops and invites allies from all parts to encounter the foe, and does his best by diplomacy to get rid of the treacherous Monomachatus and hinder the inhabitants of the Illyrian coasts from joining Robert and swelling his army.⁷ The greatness of the peril shines out in Alexius' imploring letter to the German king,⁸ and in his coming to terms with the Turks as the lesser enemy, so as not to 'fight against two'.⁹ Then follows the fine description of Robert's crossing and the great storm which met him after leaving Corfu, 'as though God were wrath against Robert's unrestrained overweening insolence'.¹⁰ However, while the fleet

¹ I. 13, pp. 32, 33. He does, however, order his son Roger to give aid to the Papal See if required (I. 14, p. 34).

² V. 3.

³ I. 14.

⁴ I. 15; III. 9, p. 91.

⁵ I. 16.

⁶ III. 6, p. 83; 9, p. 91.

⁷ III. 9, 10. He fears 'the generals and counts hurrying to join' (Robert).

⁸ III. 10. Robert is 'that murderer, that guilty one, enemy of God and of Christians', who is causing the Empire 'insecurity and unrest in no small degree'. He is ἀδικώτατος and God will punish him. Curiously enough, though she brings into the letter one of Robert's nephews Bagelard, and represents Alexius as trying to win over Bagelard's half-brother 'Herman, prefect of Lombardy,' she loses the golden opportunity of telling us how cruelly Robert had dispossessed both these princes of their rightful lands (Du Cange's notes on III. 10, pp. 93 A and 94 A).

⁹ III. 11.

¹⁰ III. 12; IV. 2, p. 105.

is wrecked Robert himself gets safe to land 'undismayed and confident, methinks, that his life would last long enough for him to compass fighting against whom he would'. With a certain inconsistency Anna ascribes the preservation of some of his followers partly to the time of year when the crops were ripe and saved them from starvation, but chiefly to 'the almighty power of God' whose great enemy Robert was.¹ At any rate he lands, collects a large army and besieges Durazzo, and like Milton's Satan he is in truth the hero of Book IV, far more than is the new governor George Palaeologus, Anna's admired uncle, or even the Emperor himself. Robert covets the Empire;² 'from extreme poverty and obscure rank, he had through energy of nature and pride of spirit' become lord of Lombardy and Apulia, and then come 'into the desire of more, as is apt to happen to insatiable souls'.³

In the battle of Durazzo he shows himself 'very high souled, a great lover of danger', though in Anna's eyes his 'bitterness', his 'wrath', his 'passion' and his 'anger' overcloud even his gallant readiness to kill or be killed in every fight.⁴ Yet when one of his soldiers indignantly disclaims a charge of cowardice, Robert listens to reason and forgoes his wrath,⁵ so that we understand the devotion with which he was evidently served.⁶

The surrender of Durazzo by its foreign inhabitants speedily follows, and Anna allows us once more to see the human side of Robert in his care for his wounded. It is perhaps this which elicits from her a comparison between Robert and her father.⁷ 'They were both of them adepts at foreseeing and comprehending everything, and were ignorant of none of the arts of war, but were accustomed to all sieges, all ambuscades and fights in battle array. In enterprises of force they were active and noble, and were hated by all the captains under heaven, a match for each other in wisdom and manliness'. After this Robert withdraws his formidable activities to defend his own

¹ III. 12, p. 99.

² IV. 1, p. 103. It is no mere raid he is making.

³ IV. 1, pp. 104, 105.

⁴ IV. 8, p. 121.

⁵ IV. 8, p. 122.

⁶ So of his followers in I. 11 and IV. 6, and his 'weeping son' in VI. 6, p. 162. We note however that one of his soldiers betrays his plans to the Emperor and his son Guy intrigues with Alexius (I. 15, p. 36; VI. 5, p. 159). Callicles' Poem XXXII tells us of a knight born in France, who after fighting in Illyria against the Emperor Alexius had been won over by him and made Sebastos. The heading is 'To the tomb of Roger the Sebastos', but one is tempted to substitute 'Guy', first because of the latter's intrigues mentioned by Anna, revolving round an 'unusual honour' and a 'marriage contract' (cf. line 35 of the Poem, where the dead man says: *καὶ κτῆδος ἔσχατον ἐκ μεταπολείου γένους*), secondly because the *Chanson d'Antioche* as Chalandon points out (*Alexis I^{er}* pp. 92, 182) represents Guy as living at the Court of Alexius in 1097 'en qualité de neveu et de sénéchal'. It is true that he was back in Bohemund's camp in 1107-8 (*Al.* XIII. 4-10).

⁷ V. 1, p. 126.

possessions in Italy¹ and finally goes to Salerno 'to rest himself from his many toils',² while Bohemund fights with the imperial army. But this is only a brief interlude. Though appalled 'as if struck by a thunderbolt'³ by the news of his son's reverses, yet 'even so Robert planned nothing ignoble, or unworthy of his own valour and daring. Rather indeed was he kindled all the more to fight, and thoughts and cares greater than before filled his mind. For the man was a staunch defender of his own counsels and plans, and was in no wise willing to give up in matters where he had once come to a resolution, and, to tell the whole truth, undaunted⁴ and thinking that everything was easy for him to seize at the first assault.' So he collected a large army, and on encountering the Venetian fleet 'started the fight as he was sure to do'.⁵ When defeated in the first encounter he was so 'warlike and ardent for battles' as to court another. Once more he loses, but soon afterwards self-confidence in the Venetians allows him to surprise them and to seize their unballasted and top-heavy ships. The captive crews are treated by the Norman with ghastly cruelty and mutilation, except such as are held for ransom. Anna takes evident pleasure in narrating these horrors.

'But Robert could not keep quiet,' though his activities were shortly to be ended by death. Fever seizes him in Cephallenia, and in fulfilment of prophecy he dies near a place called 'Jerusalem',⁶ from which according to Dante he mounted to Paradise, as did also Godfrey de Bouillon. Anna has no views as to this but, pleased to show her medical knowledge, 'cannot say precisely' whether he died of fever or pleurisy; the cause assigned by various Latin chroniclers, namely poison administered by his wife Gaita at Alexius' suggestion,⁷ is not so much as hinted at here. The body is taken in the teeth of a great storm to Italy and buried in the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Venosa. Robert had lived seventy years and been Duke for twenty-five.⁸

The relief which Alexius felt at Robert's death must have

¹ On taking leave of his army in Illyria he is made by Anna to utter this shrewd maxim: 'It is not right to seize the goods of others and through negligence lose our own' (V. 3, p. 131).

² V. 3, p. 133.

³ VI. 5, p. 158.

⁴ This word *ἀκατάπληκτος* and variants upon it may almost be said to give Anna's ideal of the perfect hero, the Greatheart of Bunyan. See p. 142 above.

⁵ VI. 5, p. 160. The untranslatable *ὅποῖος ἐκεῖνος*.

⁶ VI. 6, p. 162. Ather, the actual scene of his death, is also an Old Testament place-name (Joshua xv. 42; A.V. Ether, but Cod. Alex. gives variant *Ἀθέρ*).

⁷ See Du Cange's note on VI. 6, p. 162 n.

⁸ Or twenty-six, if we date the dukedom from the Synod of Melfi 'in the summer of 1059' (Tout, *op. cit.* p. 115).

been so immense that we are hardly prepared for the dispassionate tone of Anna's second detailed description of her father's worst foe.¹ 'Now Robert, as rumour went and some said, was an exceptional chief, clever,² fine in countenance, polished in speech, quick in words, with a powerful voice, easy of access. In stature he was tall, he always wore his hair cut close to his head, and he had a thick beard, so anxious was he always to observe the customs of his own race.³ He preserved the beauty of his face and of his whole body to the end, and was proud of these things, because through them he thought his appearance worthy of a throne.⁴ He treated with honour all those who were most loyally disposed to him. But he was very parsimonious, very fond of gold, very keen at a bargain, very fond of possessions, and on top of this very fond of glory.'⁵ These foibles brought him 'much reproach from all', whereas the Emperor in his turn was blamed for rashness in having fought him in the field, instead of trusting to the local inhabitants to wear him down, 'shot at from all sides'. Anna emphatically controverts this idea as underrating the adversary, and says: 'For Robert's valour and proficiency in war and steadfastness of will are known to all; the man was of those who are conquered not easily, but rather with great difficulty, as under reverses he only appeared the more courageous',⁶ with which words of generous admiration the description abruptly ends. When Anna next mentions Robert it is to make the astounding statement that 'Alexius when he turned his reins towards Illyria by great labours utterly vanquished Robert and his son Bohemund, and delivered the Western provinces from very great misfortune'.⁷ So strangely in course of time do defeats and questionable tricks of diplomacy become transformed by pious memory into victories, and the operations of nature into achievements of some honoured man. Intrigue and famine checked Bohemund's career on two different occasions, and death stopped Robert's, but to Anna these princes were both victims of her father's bow and spear.⁸

¹ VI. 7, pp. 165, 166.

² The epithet describing Anna's favourite mental quality—*ἀγχινοῦς*.

³ i.e. to keep a vow till he had conquered the Eastern Empire. See Du Cange on VI. 7, p. 165 D, and above p. 59, note 2.

⁴ Quoted from Eurip., *Aeolus*, Frag. 15. Cf. Pref. 4, p. 6, where it is used in connexion with Nicephorus Bryennius Caesar.

⁵ The five superlatives give an effect that translation wholly fails to reproduce: *φειδωλότατος*, *φιλοχρυσότατος*, *ἐμπορικώτατος*, *φιλοκτηανώτατος*, *φιλοδοξότατος*.

⁶ This defence of her father is probably a hit at George Palaeologus, who had advised against fighting (IV. 5, p. 112).

⁷ VI. 9, p. 168.

⁸ It is interesting to observe the growth of this legend about Bohemund in Anna's history. In V. 7 she represents Alexius as raising his siege of Larissa, but

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

68. THE WEST. THE CRUSADERS

THIS might seem the right place to consider the subsequent career of Bohemund, but he is so much the archetype to Anna of all the Crusaders that it is perhaps better to treat him last as the most important of that band. In his first conflict with Alexius he has indeed no distinguishing feature, he is merely his father's true son,¹ and we gather little personal knowledge of him in the Larissa campaign.² But from 1097 when he comes among the Crusading bands to Constantinople, till his treaty of 1108 with Alexius and his death not long afterwards, he is seldom absent from Anna's stage. To her the First Crusade is grouped round three men, her father, Raymond of Provence, and Bohemund. All else is subsidiary, and as our subject in hand is Anna's view of things rather than objective facts, we are spared any attempt at writing a history of the Crusade, which has already, as Miss Lees³ truly says, been treated 'from many different points of view, racial, religious, political, economic, military, romantic'. But a few words of general introduction may serve to show why the Holy War meant one thing to the Crusaders and something totally different to the Byzantines.

Bréhier⁴ has stated that pilgrimages from Western lands to the Holy Places had gone on increasing from century to century. Nothing had stopped them, no matter in what infidel hands Palestine might be. When the fanatical Shiite Hakim destroyed the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 and persecuted the Christians, it only arrested the pilgrims for a few years. Men thought it wiser

compelled to tamper with the enemy's troops before he can get rid of him out of the country. Yet in VI 9, p. 168, she speaks as if he had conquered him completely, and in X. 5, p. 285; 9, p. 294, Bohemund's chief motive for joining the Crusade is said to be his 'ancient grudge against the Emperor', a wish to 'pay him back for that glorious victory which he won against him' at Larissa. Alexius at the time of Bohemund's arrival in Constantinople does not think it prudent to remind him of anything worse than 'reckless deeds', and 'that hostility' (X. 11, p. 302), but in XIII. 12, p. 406, the Norman is made to admit defeat at Alexius' hands in a vague expression which may refer equally well (and equally untruly) to the indecisive campaign of 1083 or to Bohemund's being obliged by famine to abandon the siege of Durazzo in 1108. It is instructive to read the other side in the *Gesta*, ch. 6, Alexius 'valde timebat' Bohemund 'quia olim eum sepe cum suo exercitu ejecerat de campo'. It is as the son and representative of Robert that Bohemund here concerns us; his independent career is dealt with in Ch. 69 below.

¹ I. 14. See last note.

² V. 4-7.

³ Ed. of *Anon. Gesta Francorum*, 1924, p. xxii.

⁴ *l'Église et l'Orient*, ch. II, III.

to make their pious journeys in bands and not alone, but make them they did, and though after the schism of 1054 the Eastern Church tried hard to hamper such proceedings, the steady stream continued, till the Seljuq Turks swept Westward and took Jerusalem in 1070. The disaster of Manzikert in 1071 gave the final blow to these pilgrimages, and the Crusades were principally an attempt to have them renewed. In 1073 Michael VII seems to have suggested to Gregory VII an Occidental expedition to help Constantinople and Jerusalem against the Turks. But it was not till Urban II became Pope in 1088 that this idea actually took shape, and in all probability by that time Alexius I neither solicited nor even desired Western intervention.¹ His grievances against the Turks were primarily political; if his own subjects desired to worship relics he had plenty in Constantinople, and it was his interest to make sure

¹ See above, p. 312, note 9.

In spite of Bury's note (on p. 261 of Vol. VI of Gibbon, *op. cit.*) calling it 'doubtless genuine', we are following Chalandon (*Alexis I^{er}*, pp. 325 sqq.) and Riant in rejecting the supposed letter of appeal from Alexius (whose name is never mentioned) to Robert I, Count of Flanders, as largely if not wholly spurious. Hagenmeyer in 1901 (*Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 25) said that 'der Inhalt des Briefes all echt anzusehen ist', but allowed of the possibility of its having been deliberately worked up in Flanders into an *excitatorium*. H. Pirenne, writing six years later in the *Revue de l'instruction publique de Belgique* (Vol. 50, 1907), believed that the letter 'dérive d'un original authentique' written by Alexius in 1090 after the Greek reverses at Mitylene and Chios, to remind Robert of aid promised in a personal interview in 1089. This date (1089) for Robert's return from Jerusalem is arrived at by Pirenne from the presence or absence of his name in the Flemish charters; from 1087 to early 1090 it is replaced by that of his son Robert II. This agrees with the dates in the *Alexias* as established by E. de Muralt (*Essai de Chronographie byzantine*), and Pirenne thinks Anna errs only in placing the interview of her father and Robert at Berœ (VII. 6, p. 201) where he probably only made a short stay after the battle of Dristra in 1087, and not in Constantinople as does Guibert de Nogent. Guibert in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* only professes to give excerpts in his own words, and the date of our other source for the letter, the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Robert of Reims, is very uncertain. It is therefore impossible to be sure what the original Greek letter really said, or when it was translated and remodelled by some Latin; Pirenne says 1095-6, after the Council of Clermont but before the Crusade; Chalandon says 1098-9, when the Crusade was in full swing. Chalandon elsewhere states that to modern Greek historians the Crusade appears a calamity, taking up in combats with the Crusaders the Greek troops that should have been fighting the Turks (*op. cit.* p. 159). It must however be said that the *Anon. Syn. Chron.* (pp. 183-5), after giving a vivid picture of Alexius' dangers from East and West through the inefficiency of past Emperors, says that he tried to make the Italians his friends, sending messengers to 'the bishop presiding over the older Rome' and to various Christian princes telling them that τὸ ἔθνος οὐκ ἀνεκτόν was holding the Holy Sepulchre. This made many leave their lands for the cause, and they came to Constantinople in thousands. Then Alexius, 'by divine aid and the help of these [sc. Crusaders] and his own efforts', succeeded in driving 'the Persians out of the Greek lands'. The picture of the relations between the Emperor and the Crusaders seems to have become rose-coloured in the course of years; this Chronicle was not written till after 1261, and by contrast with 1204 the First Crusade might well appear all harmony to the writer.

of Nicaea and Antioch rather than to concern himself about the fate of Jerusalem.

To the Byzantines the Crusaders, huge bodies of men, women and children, preceded by portents, speaking uncouth tongues, liable to plunder for their daily needs, were the most terrible kind of barbarians, alarmingly numerous,¹ and engaged on a work which interested the Empire hardly at all, except in so far as it helped to 'widen the dominion of the Greeks' and restore their lost possessions. Alexius hoped to use them as mercenaries like Urselius and the rest, and was ready to pay them well, but he never liked them. Anna puts this matter quite clearly. Whatever his private feelings might have been, her father 'had sent many Greek armies with the Crusaders against the Turks, for two reasons: first that they might not become a prey to the Turkish sword because he cared for them as Christians,² secondly so that organized by us they might destroy some of the Ishmaelite towns and give others according to contract to the Emperor of the Greeks, and thereby widen the dominion of the Greeks'. When first Bohemund and then Tancred 'clung tight to the city of Antiochus' and other towns, the Emperor felt he had spent money and toil in vain.³ The

¹ Theophylact (Ser. I, Ep. 11: *P. G.* 126, col. 324) describes himself as hardly in possession of his senses after the *διάβασις* or *ἐπιβασίς* of the Crusaders; Time had however as usual taught him to bear the Frankish 'insults'. See the similar passage in *Mous. Alex.* I. 330 sqq. Even a Latin chronicler thinks it natural of Alexius not to have let the Crusaders enter Constantinople *en masse* (Foucher de Chartres, I. 8, 9). Again, Stephen of Blois does not resent the Emperor's fear of the 'infinita populorum turba' at Nicaea and his effort to keep them in confinement (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, Ep. IV). In I. 13, 4 Foucher gives a curious list of the component nationalities of the Crusading army. Though they could not understand each other, yet they 'were as brothers in the love of God'. The names are 'Franci, Flandri, Frisi, Galli, Allobroges, Lotharingi, Alemanni, Baioarii, Normanni, Angli, Scoti, Aquitani, Itali, Daci, Apuli, Iberi, Britones, Graeci, Armeni'. The modern visitor to the Assembly of the League of Nations, looking at the delegates of fifty-four countries and hearing all round in the galleries a babel of tongues, can sympathize with the bewilderment which these heterogeneous and unexpected guests must have caused at Byzantium, a sensation not diminished by their turbulence and discourtesy.

² Anna was bound to say this of the Thirteenth Apostle.

³ XIV. 2, pp. 422, 423. As to the whole course of the Crusade up to the siege of Antioch, Chalandon (*Hist. de la I^{ère} Croisade*, p. 124, etc.) asserts with truth that Anna's account is at least as trustworthy as that of the Latin chroniclers. Oster blames Alexius for not having grasped the full significance of the Crusade and put himself at the head of East and West in this sacred adventure (*op. cit.* Pt. II, p. 47). This is surely being wise after the event. The Emperor's fear and suspicion of the 'barbarians' as they advanced on the capital, his secret relief when the bands of Peter the Hermit spurned his advice and went prematurely to Asia Minor (even if we disbelieve the *Gesta's* grim 'gavisus est valde' (ch. 2), when he heard of their destruction by the Turks), and his outraged feelings against the arrogant Hugh, the plundering and bellicose Godfrey, and the insufferable Bohemund, to say nothing of the 'numberless host' led by 'kings and dukes and counts and

Byzantines could not foresee the calamity of 1204, and the consequent desirability of as it were putting a ring through the nose of this bull that might gore them; and without this foreknowledge were they not bound to do as Alexius did, keep on as friendly terms as possible with these savage hordes when present, and heave a deep sigh of relief when they saw the last of them? 'Egypt was glad at their departing, for they were afraid of them.' This is precisely the spirit of Anna's Books X and XI.¹ And in justice to the Greeks we must remember that others felt the same about the Crusaders. Plenty of tales of insubordination, bitter passions, and savage cruelty may be extracted from the Latin chroniclers themselves, and many a recent writer endorses the opinion of old de Peyssonnel,² that wherever the Normans went, whether as conquerors or Crusaders, they differed little in violence from the Goths and the Huns.

On the whole it is remarkable that Anna should have been so little prejudiced rather than so much, and that she tells the story of the Crusade with such comparative dispassionateness. Bohemund it is true rouses anger in her; but Godfrey and Hugh, Raoul, Tancred and Baldwin all meet with justice, even if cold justice, at her hands.³ More important in considering

even bishops'—all this was not only pardonable but inevitable, and the outcome must have seemed to Alexius to justify his worst apprehensions; 'no advantage had accrued to the Empire of the Greeks from these great toils and pains and expenses' (XIV. 2, p. 422 D).

¹ By a curious contrast, while Anna devotes over one and a half Books to the Crusade, Zonaras dismisses it in fifteen lines.

² *Observations sur les peuples Barbares*, p. 173. We may compare the bitter remarks on the savagery of the 'Latins' in the 'so-called Holy War' in a life of St. Anastasius, edited by Sathas in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, p. 426. Gibbon gives the same picture. Bréhier, in the introduction to his edition of the *Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade* (Paris, 1924), says of the writer: 'Comme ses contemporains il trouve justes et raconte froidement les massacres les plus horribles, la décapitation des prisonniers turcs, la violation des sépultures musulmanes, l'égorgement de la population sans défense dans les villes prises d'assaut'. We may however question whether the two tales of pointless savagery that Anna gives about the Crusaders, first the barbarities inflicted by the 'Normans' with Peter the Hermit on Turkish children and old men (X. 5, p. 286), and then the gratuitous massacre of a friendly Christian population, priests and all, by the army under the leadership of St. Gilles (XI. 8, p. 331), are not too highly coloured to deserve implicit belief (see p. 92, note 8, above). But the aspersions on the morals of the Westerners, though put by her into the mouth of Peter the Hermit, probably represent her real feelings on the subject (XI. 6, p. 326). Foucher (I. 11, 8, and I. 15, 13) says the same of his fellow soldiers.

³ Thus she ascribes the friction between Godfrey's followers and the people of Constantinople to a natural if groundless suspicion on the part of the newcomers that their chief had been seized (X. 9, p. 294). They therefore made destructive attacks on various buildings; yet we feel that in Anna's mind this mild violence only showed up by contrast the sacrilegious sack of the capital by her father's own troops fifteen years before (III. 5).

her truthfulness is the fact that she ascribes to Peter the Hermit and not to Pope Urban II the initial movement which led to the Crusade.¹ This is interesting, because later critics give Peter less and less of a place in the genesis of the expedition, and the Pope more and more. But even this is a minor point. The big matter at issue between Anna and the Latin chroniclers is whether Alexius did or did not keep his word with the Crusaders. To the Latins he appeared just as perfidious, crafty, and oath-breaking as they did to him, and there is much to be said for both sides. At any rate (unless we accept the theory that Alexius first called them in, which is never a plea advanced by the Crusaders themselves), he was the only party who could reasonably complain of experiencing ingratitude.² One of Anna's great charges against the Westerners is that, after her father had lavished time and money and trouble upon them, they showed themselves 'very stiff-necked and bitter', and entirely callous as to his sufferings 'on behalf of Christians'.³ She even makes a violent onslaught on them on the strange ground that their verbosity, with the endless standing to listen entailed on him thereby, had been one main cause of her father's gout. They were ambitious, insolent, reckless, greedy, and unrestrained; but worse than all, they were wordy 'above every race of men', and in their 'immense loquacity' they outraged court etiquette, showed no consideration for the time or inclinations of others, and kept the Emperor standing for hours when he was wishing to go to bed. And because of their well-known 'hot temper' he thought it wiser to bear it.⁴

When she first brings the Crusaders on the scene, and there is no question of her father or his gout, she gives a very calm and just account of the different motives⁵ inspiring them, ranging from true piety to blatant ambition. Some came so as to be as we might say in the fashion, selling their lands to get equipment and followers, 'for each of the Celts was anxious to excel the rest'. Bohemund and others 'of the baser sort' thirsted for power, even for the imperial power, while Bohemund him-

¹ X. 5. Contrast Foucher, I. 5, 11. For her inaccuracies after Taticius left Antioch see p. 231, note 8, above.

² This seems to be the meaning of ἀπανθρωπία as displayed by the Crusaders, together with ἔβρις (XIV. 2, p. 423).

³ XIV. 2, p. 422, and 7, p. 445. Yet Chalandon, *Alexis I^{er}*, p. 157, points out that the Crusaders did as a matter of fact accuse the Emperor of ingratitude as well as perfidy: they possibly felt that in fighting the Turks they were pulling his chestnuts out of the fire, whether he had invited them or not.

⁴ XIV. 4. For the whole passage see p. 519, below. So also in X. 9, p. 294, we read of τὸ φύσει λάλον τε καὶ μακρηγορώτατον τῶν Λατίνων.

⁵ X. 5, p. 285; X. 9, p. 294.

self had the additional motive of attempting to avenge his Larissa failure. But 'the simpler souls' including Peter the Hermit, did truly wish to 'worship at the Lord's tomb and inquire into the truths about the sacred places'. Nothing could be better put.

In general Anna is cynical as to the religious fervour of most of this great unmanageable host, but what is much more on her mind is to retort on them the charges of bad faith which they brought against Alexius. Is it perhaps a subconscious feeling of guilt that makes her call the Crusaders at Nicaea every conceivable bad name, 'changeable', 'unstable' (*bis*), 'untrustworthy', 'unrestrained', variable as the currents of Euripus?¹ Are these and the euphemistic phrases of 'trick' or 'comedy' all uttered to justify the way her father treated his allies (actuated as she admits by fear of their 'immense number'), going behind their backs to make terms with the Turkish enemies, and instil into them suspicion of Western cruelty? Curiously enough the Latin chroniclers² do not blame Alexius in this matter of Nicaea, so it was perhaps successfully kept secret from them, as Anna implies. Indeed all through the siege and capture of this town they represent him as giving the promised supplies, generously distributing goods and money, and finally appointing Greek troops to march on with the host.³ Raymond d'Aguilers is the devoted adherent of the Count of Provence just as the author of the *Gesta* is of Bohemund; but both they and the more impartial Foucher develop their principal bitterness against the Emperor at a later stage, in connexion with Antioch.⁴ Foucher ascribes the deaths of the Crusaders, on the march through Asia Minor and during the long siege, to starvation (caused by Turkish devastation of the country) and bad weather and enemy attacks, all sent *propter peccata nostra*,⁵ and he does not begin to call Alexius the

¹ X. 11; XI. 2.

² e.g. *Gesta*, ch. 8; Foucher, I. 10, 8-10.

³ The first letters of Stephen of Blois and Anselm of Ribemont speak of perfectly cordial relations up to this date between Greeks and 'Latins' (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, Epp. IV, VIII). So also does the letter from the counts to the Pope, incorporated by Foucher in I. 24, 1-14, the passage abusing Alexius being an evident interpolation (Chalandon, *op. cit.* p. 205). So also do Alexius' own letters to the Abbot of Monte Cassino in Aug. 1097 and June, 1098. He says that his 'imperium' has helped the Crusaders 'non ut amicus vel cognitus sed ut pater', claiming truly that no one else 'post Deum' could have done so (Riant, *Epistula Spuria Alex. Comm. ad Robertum*, pp. 43-5. Zonaras (XVIII. 23) makes the curious statement that the Crusaders sold Nicaea to Alexius for much money. Presumably this refers to the largesses of which all the Latin writers speak.

⁴ The letter from the counts saying that Bohemund meant to keep Antioch was perhaps the last straw which caused Alexius to intrigue with Egypt and make special overtures to St. Gilles (Chalandon, p. 206).

⁵ I; XI. 8, and XV. 13.

perturbator et tyrannus of all 'pilgrims' till the moment when the conflict between him and Bohemund, initiated in connexion with Antioch, had led to the Norman invasion of Illyria in 1107.¹ Even the *Gesta* with its strong anti-Greek bias admits that Alexius gave the Crusaders at Constantinople and elsewhere an adequate 'mercatum' and good advice, to which they only responded by lawlessness and pillage;² it is the desertion by the Greeks at Antioch that this chronicler cannot forgive,³ and indeed Anna's conscience does not seem to be altogether easy as to this, and even less as to her father's failure to join the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Her excuses are most plausible, but why does she make them at all?⁴ May we not see the same desire to exculpate Alexius and represent him not as the offending party but as a type of injured magnanimity when the innocent counts whom he rescues from captivity in Cairo are set down as 'enemies and hostile, breakers of their oaths and promises to him'?⁵ It is, we are forced to believe, an instance of the famous maxim: 'No case: abuse the plaintiff's attorney.'

This brings us to what was really the crux of the situation, the oath of homage taken by the Crusading chiefs to the Emperor. Did they swear it? and if so, what did they swear? It is a remarkable fact that the oath, though alluded to in all accounts of the Crusade, is actually given in few. Anna's version is as follows:⁶ '[Godfrey] going to the sovereign swore the oath which he was asked for, namely that whatever cities and lands or fortresses he should capture, which formerly were reckoned under the empire of the Greeks, he would hand over to the general sent by the Emperor for this very purpose'. Riant⁷ gives the formula from Robert of Reims, remarking truly that it is 'far from seeming so authentic': 'Iuro quia nunquam per me aut per meos vitam aut honorem amittet' (*sc.* Alexius), 'aut quidquid hodie iuste aut iniuste possidet.' Ekkehard of Urach⁸ says the Crusaders swore to the Emperor 'ut urbes quasque suo imperio defractas pristinae ditioni si vincerent redderent, ipsique vicissim tam armis quam stipendiis regiis infra metam eandem se foveri non dubitarent'. Foucher gives no particulars, but treats the oath as perfectly natural.⁹

¹ *Ibid.* II; XXXVIII. 3.

² Chs. 2, 3, 5.

³ Ch. 16.

⁴ The 'promise to come behind with forces', cast by Bohemund in the Emperor's teeth (XI. 9, p. 333) is never explicitly admitted by Anna, but never denied. The Latin chroniclers assert it freely. For Anna's sensitiveness on the subject see p. 143, note 7, above.

⁵ XII. 1, p. 347.

⁶ X. 9, p. 298. This corresponds closely with Albert of Aix and William of Malmesbury. See Du Cange's note, *ad. loc.*

⁷ *Expéditions des Scandinaves*, p. 198, note 1.

⁸ Ch. 14.

⁹ *Op. cit.* I. 9, 2.

'Erat enim omnibus hoc necesse, ut sic cum imperatore amicitiam consolidarent, sine cuius consilio et auxilio nostrum iter nequivimus expedire, neque illi qui nos erant subsequendi eodem tramite.' Like Anna he represents the Emperor as lavishly rewarding all who took the oath.¹ But the fiery writer of the *Gesta* views the matter very differently. The oath is to him only to be excused as a terribly painful necessity to which the counts submit because 'volentes nolentesque humiliaverunt se ad nequissimi imperatoris voluntatem', and were 'coacti necessitate'.² As to what they actually swore the writer says nothing, but he concludes in these words: 'Imperator quoque omnibus nostris fidem et securitatem dedit; iuravit etiam quia veniret nobiscum pariter cum suo exercitu per terram et per mare, et nobis mercatum terra marique fideliter daret ac omnia nostra perditam diligenter restauraret, insuper et neminem nostrorum peregrinorum conturbari vel contristari in via Sancti Sepulcri vellet aut permetteret.' To this side of the oath Anna makes Bohemund allude in condensed form, when writing to Alexius:³ 'After promising to come behind us with a large force thou hast not been willing to confirm thy promise by deeds.' The suffering of the Crusaders from famine at Antioch is laid at the Emperor's door, and the final reproach is that 'even Taticius, that faithful slave of thy power, who had been given to us as a help, left us in this danger and went away'. Such then were the undertakings assumed on both sides; it remains to be seen how they were fulfilled.

To begin with we will give Anna's statement as to which of the Crusaders took the oath. The allegiance of Peter the Hermit was obviously not worth getting. The first arrival of note was Hugh, brother of the King of France. He according to both Anna and Foucher was led to Constantinople by the imperial troops sent to meet him, and kept there a virtual captive⁴ till in Anna's words he 'became [the Emperor's] man, swearing the oath customary to Latins'. Next Godfrey de Bouillon comes and refuses vehemently to put himself 'into the position of a slave'.⁵ Fighting ensues and Count Hugh pleads with Godfrey

¹ Anna represents both the Greeks and the Crusaders as applying the term *δουλεία* to the homage sworn (X. 10, p. 300; XI. 11, p. 340). So Tancred's mother professes *δουλεία* to the Emperor (XII. 8, p. 366). The lavish rewards for the oath were one of the ways in which Alexius was drained by the Crusaders of 'innumerable gifts and heaps of gold', and of 'sums beyond all number' (XIV. 2, p. 423).

² *Op. cit.* Ch. 6.

³ XI. 9, p. 333, and see Du Cange's note *ad loc.*

⁴ X. 7, p. 289, changing the punctuation of *C. S. H. B.* and of Reifferscheid's text into *ἀνετον μὲν, οὐκ ἐλεύθερον δὲ παντελῶς*. Foucher, I. 6, 3, 'non omnino liber'.

⁵ X. 9.

to follow his example. Once more he rejects the idea with scorn, but being once more worsted in arms he submits to his fate and swears. Other chiefs, part of Anna's numberless host of 'kings and dukes and counts and even bishops', pour in upon the Empire and are reluctantly persuaded to take the oath by Alexius,¹ who gets Godfrey to witness it. Baldwin was apparently among the number, as well as the 'Frankish noble' who insolently sat down on the Emperor's chair. We hear of no rewards administered at the moment, but only sage counsel as to how to wage war with Turks. Finally Bohemund enters the capital,² and between the lines of his interviews with the Emperor we read their mutual animosity and suspicion. But when the oath is offered, Bohemund, from an interested desire to gain Alexius' goodwill, and 'furthermore being by nature a perjurer', takes it without visible reluctance and receives a large share in the riches which are now lavished, together with more good advice, on all the subservient counts. 'And thus by both money and words he (*sc.* Alexius) softened their rude natures.' Yet all cannot have sworn, for after the capture of Nicaea the Emperor solicits and obtains the homage of other 'counts'.³ Tancred, on the ground of owing allegiance only to his uncle Bohemund, remains obdurate the longest, but finally swears also.⁴

Before we deal with the rather perplexing case of Raymond of Provence we may observe that on this general oath the history of the Crusade turned. Nicaea was restored to the Emperor (even if not strictly by the action of the Crusaders⁵), but Antioch was not, and Laodicea not permanently, and to Alexius this seemed a sufficiently grave breach of contract to release him from his own promises. Even Bohemund admits that Antioch was Alexius' due, but tries to prove that the Emperor had turned traitor first.⁶ Later on Alexius, then Cantacuzenus, then Duke Alexius and other imperial representatives, revile Bohemund as an 'oath-breaker',⁷ one who has 'proved false to his vows and despised the covenant of peace'. The Emperor piously points out through his envoys that the 'breaking of those oaths has not turned out well for Bohemund', and Bohemund 'has his own conscience suitably convicting him'.⁸ Small wonder that when this great enemy was finally humbled, special care should be taken to make him pay homage once more, with every outward

¹ His diplomacy and persistence are dwelt on by his daughter: he demolished all their excuses and 'pursued them by every sort of method' (X. 10, p. 300).

² X. 11.

³ XI. 3.

⁴ XI. 3, p. 317.

⁵ X. 11, p. 306; XI. 2.

⁶ XI. 4, p. 319.

⁷ XI. 9, p. 332; 11, p. 340; XIII. 8, p. 399; 9, p. 400.

⁸ XIII. 9, p. 400; 11, p. 405.

form of reverence and humility.¹ Certainly, if as has been said the whole civilization of Western Europe was founded on the oath, the statement is no less true of Anna Comnena's conception of the First Crusade. And nowhere does the importance attached to it come out more clearly than in the story of the one Crusader for whom Anna has a good word, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Provence, whom she calls Isangeles.

His mode of entering her pages is strange, though (even if we take it as it is usually taken) not uncharacteristic of her. In Book X, ch. 8, she describes the coming across the Adriatic in a 'pirate ship of large tonnage' of the Count Prebentzas, usually translated 'of Provence'.² He falls in with the imperial fleet, and after a fight the Crusaders 'yield, though reluctantly', and the count surrenders 'himself, ship and all, with those under him'. They all come to land and we hear no more of the Count Prebentzas as such. Three chapters later, after Godfrey and Bohemund and many others have arrived at Constantinople, we get this abrupt sentence: 'But [the Emperor] loved St. Gilles exceedingly and kept him for a while with himself.'³ This love is based on the count's great superiority to his fellows in intellect, sincerity, chastity and truth;⁴ 'he excelled all the Latins in all things, as much as the sun the stars.' To him Alexius imparted his fears of Bohemund, and St. Gilles after promising zealous heed went to join the other Crusaders in Asia Minor, *συνταξάμενος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι*.⁵ This phrase has been used a few lines back of all the Crusaders and would seem to mean 'having paid homage', as it clearly does in the scene at Pelecanus. 'The Emperor . . . wishing that all the counts who had not yet sworn should also take oaths to him, enjoined on Butumites . . . to counsel all the counts . . . not to start on the road to Antioch *πρὸ τοῦ συντάξασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ*.' And again

¹ XIII. 9.

² This incident follows directly on the statement that Bohemund crossed to Cabalio (X. 8, p. 289). Prof. Grégoire (see above, p. 254, note 6) has suggested that the name *Πρέβεντζας* may be a mistake for *Πριγκιπάτος*, who as one of Bohemund's most trusted officers is the recipient of a bogus incriminating letter from Alexius (XIII. 4, p. 388) and is identified by Du Cange with the *Πριγκιπῆτας* who signs the treaty between Alexius and Bohemund (XIII. 12, p. 416), having apparently seceded to the Greek side, as Marinus of Naples and Roger the Frank (XIII. 4, p. 387; 12, p. 416) had done. One argument in favour of this theory is that Principatus would naturally come over as the follower, and herald at Constantinople, of his chief Bohemund shortly before mentioned. Another is that the discrepancy between the first and the second pictures of St. Gilles would vanish, if the Comes Prebentzas and Isangeles were not one and the same person.

³ X. 11, p. 305. This Count, usually known to us as Raymond of Provence, was called St. Gilles after an abbey of that name, and Anna transliterates this as Isangeles. See Du Cange's notes on X. 8, p. 289 D; X. 11, p. 305 A.

⁴ See XI. 6, p. 327.

⁵ X. 11, p. 305.

Tancred 'himself also takes oaths, and indeed, *συνταξαμένων ἀπάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ*, the latter gives them Taticius to go with them.¹ Though the common late Greek meaning of 'taking leave' is possible, or even the classical one of 'coming to an agreement',² the context seems to show that homage is denoted. If so, Anna's version of St. Gilles' proceedings disagrees with that of Raymond d'Aguilers,³ who says that the Count of Provence totally refused to swear fealty. The writer of the *Gesta* supports this, but says that his refusal to be approached 'de hominio' did not prevent his swearing to respect the Emperor's life and honour and to make others do the same.⁴

We cannot reconcile these two versions; we must simply choose between them, as also between Anna's account of his sea-crossing (if indeed he is the *Πρεβέντζας* of X. 8) and the Latin chronicler's statement that he came by land through Dalmatia. If Anna as a devoted daughter had a bias in favour of making every one in her pages pay Alexius homage, the count's faithful chaplain had an equally powerful motive for representing him as the one strong independent prince. Certainly throughout the story St. Gilles remains on good, indeed intimate, terms with the Emperor,⁵ and when he dies Alexius' envoy goes to his heir 'to prepare him to swear to the Emperor to keep true fealty (*πίστιν*) towards him, such as his deceased uncle St. Gilles preserved to the end'.⁶ Putting all the arguments together we may surely, without considering Raymond d'Aguilers as a 'faussaire dangereux' or even a wilful 'menteur',⁷ believe him to have been led astray by vicarious vain-glory, and may accept the fact that Alexius' one trusted Crusader, Anna's favourite Isangeles, did not stand out in obstinate isolation, but took and kept the oath of homage even more zealously than the rest.

¹ XI. 3, pp. 316, 317.

² II. 5, p. 52; V. 3, p. 132; VII. 3, p. 194; VIII. 9, pp. 240, 241; XI. 1, p. 309; 5, p. 322; XIV. 5, p. 438. So in Nic. Bry. I. 12, p. 26. But in X. 10, p. 301; XII. 1, p. 347; XV. 6, p. 479, Anna may mean either homage or farewell. In the *Anon. Syn. Chron.*, p. 187, the word denotes farewell.

³ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Ierusalem*, ch. II. Foucher (I. 9, 2) says 'Raimundus id facere tunc' [i.e. when other counts swore] 'recusavit', which seems to imply that he yielded later.

⁴ *Op. cit.* ch. 6. It has been suggested that the *Gesta* here merely copies from Raymond's Chronicle. In *Gesta*, ch. 30, we find St. Gilles with the other counts inviting the Emperor to come to Antioch 'ad recipiendam civitatem et [ut] conventiones quas erga illos habebat expleret'. They assuredly did this to keep their oath, and St. Gilles' motives are not distinguished from those of the rest.

⁵ XI. 7. 8.

⁶ XI. 8, p. 332. The same argument is used with St. Gilles' bastard son Bertrand and his son after him (XIV. 2, pp. 425-8).

⁷ See the criticisms mentioned by Chalandon, *op. cit.*, Introd. p. xxxiii.

One other point occurs in connexion with St. Gilles. In the *Alexias* the use of the word ἥλος points to an interesting conflict between Byzantine and Frankish credulity. In classical Greek it means a 'nail', and is so used by Anna in speaking of Robert Guiscard's ships,¹ and in reference to the Crucifixion, where cross and nails and lance are mentioned together.² But in the story where Gregory Gabras steals a relic, to make his oath more solemn, and hides it 'in his bosom', this sacred ἥλος is described as that 'with which the wicked men pierced my Saviour's side'.³ At the first blush one would take this to mean the Sacred Lance, which the Byzantines believed to have been safely housed in Constantinople long before the First Crusade began, but as we shall see presently Anna probably refers to one of the Sacred Nails. However, all this does not explain the discrepancy between the *Alexias* and the Latin chronicles as to the relic found at Antioch by the Crusaders; the former speaks of 'ὁ ἅγιος ἥλος', committed as 'holy and divine' to the care of St. Gilles⁴; the latter have no doubt that this was no mere nail but the unique lance of the Roman centurion. Which are we to believe? Leib⁵ here translates the phrase⁶ by 'un clou sacré' and adds this note: 'Il est curieux de voir la transformation opérée par les sources grecques; elles remplacent la lance par le clou (certains interprètent, le fer de la lance). C'est que la sainte lance était censée se trouver déjà à Constantinople parmi les nombreuses reliques: en 614 à St. Sophie, au X^e Siècle et au début du XI^e dans l'église de la Vierge du Phare.' He also refers to J. Ebersolt who in his *Sanctuaires de Byzance*⁷ gives a full account of the bringing of the Lance from Jerusalem to Constantinople in 614, of its two successive habitations (St. Sophia and the church of the Pharos), and finally of its being catalogued in the latter place in the year 1200 by the keeper Nicolas Mesaritis. Ebersolt carefully distinguishes the λόγχη from the ἥλος, also mentioned by Mesaritis, 'le saint clou qui avec trois autres avait percé le corps du Christ et avait trempé dans son sang', and adds a note that, though Mesaritis only mentions one nail, 'il en existait plusieurs autres à Constantinople; des clous sont signalés à plusieurs reprises au palais'. It may well have been one of these that Gabras stole and hid in his bosom, unless Anna used 'my Saviour's side' loosely for any

¹ III. 12, p. 98.

² XIII. 12, p. 415.

³ VIII. 9, p. 242. The word ἐγκόλπιος seems here to have a general meaning, not its special sense of 'pectoral' cross, i.e. a cruciform reliquary, as in III. 10, p. 94. Cf. II. 5, p. 53.

⁴ XI. 6, pp. 326, 327.

⁶ XI. 6, p. 326.

⁵ *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, p. 242.

⁷ pp. 10, 24, 26-7.

part of His body. If she really means 'side', the nail must have been one of Ebersolt's 'plusieurs', which may be interpreted not (as Ebersolt implies) to mean 'le saint clou avec trois autres' only, but to include at least five, i.e. the generally accepted four in the feet and hands and another driven in to fasten down the 'side'.¹ In any case she clearly intends us to believe that the relic found at Antioch was not, as Latin chroniclers arrogantly claimed, the unique Sacred Lance² which for nearly five centuries had been in safe keeping at Constantinople, and on which Bohemund swears in his treaty with Alexius;³ she would of course not mind admitting the possibility of the Crusaders having discovered another nail.

In conclusion then we will assume that, though the two phrases used by Anna in the Gabras story and in Bohemund's oath are confusingly alike,⁴ yet the first relic, of a size to be ἐγκόλπιος,⁵ was a 'nail' and the second the Sacred Lance. If this is so, Anna uses ἥλος in its classical sense throughout.

¹ Zonaras (XIII. 3) says that Constantine the Great, when appropriating to himself a statue of Apollo, fastened on to the head τινὰς τῶν ἡλῶν οἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου προσεπαττάλευσαν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σταυρῷ. If these as seems probable represented the rays of the sun-god (Anna calls the statue Ἀνθῆλιος, XII. 4, p. 357), there must have been a considerable number of nails. Prof. Dawkins has pointed out in conversation that one medieval legend speaks of a bag of nails taken out to Calvary, all of which acquired sanctity though only four (or if the feet were crossed only three) were actually used. He also says that in a modern Greek song there is an allusion to a fifth nail called το φαρμακρόν or 'deadly', because it pierced the Saviour's side, the whole conception being evolved from folk-lore and showing not an enlargement of but a divergence from the Gospel story.

² It is interesting to note that Foucher (I. 18, 1, 2) represents Bishop Adhémar as sceptical about the genuineness of the relic, while the *Gesta* declares the Bishop was so entirely convinced that he himself carried 'the Lance of the Saviour' into battle (ch. 29).

³ XIV. 1, p. 419. He swears on it τῷ νῷ, as contrasted with the Gospels which were actually 'brought out', and the way it is joined with the Crown of Thorns, the supreme Byzantine treasure, would seem to show that Anna thought of these sacred relics as both in the same place, XIII. 12, p. 415.

⁴ (a) τὸν ἅγιον ἥλον, δι' οὗ τὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ σωτῆρος πλευρὰν οἱ ἄνομοι ἔνυξαν (VIII. 9, p. 242).

(b) τῆς λόγχης, δι' ἣς τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πλευρὰν οἱ ἄνομοι ἐξεκέντησαν (XIV. 1, p. 419).

⁵ We must not forget that relics were more often than not only portions of some sacred object, notably of the True Cross. See Du Cange's notes on II. 5, p. 53 c; III. 10, p. 94 D; XV. 11, p. 496 c. But in the case of the thing 'found' at Antioch it is obvious that the Crusaders spoke of the entire article, not of a reliquary containing a piece of it.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

69. THE WEST. BOHEMUND

WE come at last to what is for Anna the *fons et origo malorum* in the Crusade and its aftermath, namely the overweening arrogance, greed, treachery, perjury and all the rest of Bohemund 'surnamed Saniscus',¹ the terrible Robert's even more terrible son, whose conflict with Alexius lasts twenty-seven years.² It is, as we have said before, not till he is a Crusader that he incurs Anna's venomous attacks. Then no colours are too dark for painting him, even though by this true aristocrat his low birth and poverty are contemptuously taken as some excuse.³ Desire to improve his fortunes, crazy ambition either to seize the imperial sceptre or by becoming Grand Domestic to use the Greek troops for winning a principality in the East, an 'ancient grudge' against the Emperor--such are his motives of action.⁴ But the Emperor is a match for him, 'understanding of old his deceitful⁵ and treacherous nature', as well as 'the unfriendliness and malice of the man'.⁶ So when he takes the oath of allegiance Anna seems prepared to believe that he did not intend to keep it. Like other Latins he is unstable, greedy, venal, while he displays the further vices of craft, suspicion, and callous disregard of his followers' lives.⁷ Yet Anna is fair-minded enough to balance his good and evil qualities as follows:⁸ 'By nature the man was a knave and quick at handling situations, in knavery and valour surpassing all the Latins who then passed through, as much as he was inferior to them in forces and money; indeed he excelled them all in superabundant activity in mischief.'⁹

True to his nature, though he was fully aware of the duty of surrendering Antioch, he yet 'coveted it for himself' and resorted to a double trick to secure it; he got Taticius and the Greek troops away by the fear of famine coupled with the

¹ IV. 6, p. 115.

² 1081-1108.

³ X. 11, pp. 301, 303.

⁴ X. 5, p. 285; 6, pp. 287, 288; 9, p. 294; 11, p. 304; XI. 12, p. 341; XII. 1, p. 345.

⁵ His 'accustomed lying' is mentioned as an accepted fact in XI. 9, p. 333.

⁶ X. 11, pp. 301, 302.

⁷ X. 11.

⁸ X. 11, p. 304. *πονηρὸς καὶ ὀξύς πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα, . . . πάντων ἐκράτει κακεντρεχείας περιουσία.*

⁹ He certainly showed this in sending supplies and penetrating himself into Laodicea, which Greek troops were actually besieging (XI. 11, p. 340). Anna also tells of his reckless bravery, coupled with arrogance, in V. 6 and 7, and XI. 3, pp. 317, 318.

scare of a pretended plot against them,¹ and he induced the Crusaders to promise the possession of the town to whichever count first brought to terms the Turkish officer opposite his place in camp, knowing all the time that 'a certain Armenian' opposite himself had agreed with him to open the gates.² Once installed as governor he refuses to surrender the city to Alexius and even sends his nephew Tancred to seize Laodicea, thus coming into open conflict with the Empire whose vassal he was, and insolently justifying his treachery by the Emperor's alleged desertion.³

In short, Bohemund is emphatically *πονηρότατος*, 'most knavish',⁴ and possesses a 'knavish soul',⁵ to say nothing of the minor faults of discourtesy⁶ and blatant venality.⁷ He was indeed 'always the same Bohemund and never changed one whit for the better',⁸ and it seems superfluous energy for the Emperor to go on reproaching him whenever he gets the opportunity.

Over the matter of Bohemund's Turkish captivity (1100-3), which Anna never mentions, we need not linger.⁹ Turning to a lighter side of his career we find that the last chapter of Book XI ends with a detailed description of a *τέχνη* on his

¹ We feel that even Anna does not think her father's man played *le beau rôle* here.

² XI. 4.

³ XI. 6, p. 327; 7, p. 330; 9, pp. 332, 333; 10, p. 337. His argument is cogent: 'How is it just that what we gained with our own sweat and toil we should thus lightly surrender?' (p. 333). So speaks Tancred in XII. 2, p. 348.

⁴ A distinction which he shares with the Dalmatian Bolcanus (XII. 4, p. 356).

⁵ XI. 10, p. 337.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ He implies to Cantacuzenus that he is ready to sell his ill-gotten gains to the Emperor, adding 'Be sure that without money thou canst not get even a castle'. (XI. 11, p. 340; cf. X. 11).

⁸ XI. 9, p. 333; 10, p. 337.

⁹ A point of chronology is here involved. XI. 9 gives us the negotiations of 1103 between Alexius and Bohemund and the subsequent march into Cilicia of Manuel Butumites. But XI. 10 carries us back to the expedition of the Pisan fleet, which the Pisan chroniclers date for us as occurring in 1099. Anna says the Greek fleet went after it in April (XI. 10, p. 335), and if we retain in the opening sentence of the chapter the *πρός* which *C. S. H. B.* and the Teubner text alike cut out, (*ἐξερχόμενοι οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα*) we get the proper sequence; the Crusaders, on their way from Antioch which they captured June, 1098 to Jerusalem which they reached 6 June, 1099, made overtures to the Bishop of Pisa and got aid from his fleet. But the story ends before the chapter does, with the words: 'Such were the doings of the Pisan fleet', and Anna in characteristic fashion returns to Bohemund and the year 1103, so that the episode of the Genoese fleet in XI. 11 is in truth 'after the course of a year', i.e. in 1104. For her sudden transitions see Ch. 62, above. Chalandon, ignoring this habit of hers, discovers erroneous chronology in the passage (*op. cit.* p. 215, note 1). In XI. 11 we find Cantacuzenus (in the year 1104) besieging Laodicea, which had been beleaguered by Bohemund in 1099 but abandoned by him when the Pisans left him (XI. 10, p. 337 A-C), and which at the end of 1102 during his captivity had been captured for him by his nephew Tancred (XI. 7, p. 330; 9, p. 332; and cf. Chalandon. pp. 216, 218, 221-2).

part, which Anna calls 'very ignoble but very clever'. Having neither army nor fleet to continue the struggle with the Greeks, he gives out that he is dead, and at the end of 1104 escapes in a coffin on a bireme from the harbour of Antioch. In order to add verisimilitude by a smell of decay, he keeps a dead cock on his chest, and makes his attendants go through periodic lamentations, while he himself lies like a corpse, breathing only through holes in the lid, and being fed by stealth. Anna cannot get over her amazement at such audacious ingenuity, and her style gets more and more lyrical and antithetical. Finally, at Corfu he gets out of his hiding-place, beards the governor, and 'with a haughty glance and manner, and speaking in a haughty and wholly barbaric voice', sends messages of insolent defiance to the Emperor, threatening that he will stir up all Italy to war against him, and will even take Byzantium. The concluding words of XI. 12 are: 'To such a pitch of boasting forsooth was the barbarian wrought up.'

In the next Book we find Bohemund trying in every possible way to forward his dreams of empire. He marries one daughter of the King of France, and gets another sent to Antioch as the bride of his nephew Tancred. He collects troops by fair means or foul, 'travelling round all the lands and towns' with violent abuse of Alexius as a Pagan who is leagued with Pagans against Christianity. The rumour which had formerly been spread abroad at Antioch, probably by Bohemund himself, that Alexius had called in Curpagan and his Turks to relieve the town while the Crusaders were besieging it, was doubtless circulated again. As an object-lesson to show his own piety and magnanimity, Alexius decides at this juncture to send home laden with gifts the counts whom he had delivered from their prison in Cairo. These go round Southern Italy calling Bohemund an inveterate liar,¹ and pointing to their own treatment by Alexius as a proof.

Not long afterwards however Bohemund is able to give a somewhat similar object-lesson telling directly against Alexius. While he himself is expected with great terror in Illyria, one of his nephews (a brother of Tancred) defeats the Greek forces at Otranto and captures six of their Scythian mercenaries. These are sent to the Pope as a proof that Alexius used barbarians in war against Christians, and their fierce aspect acts as admirable propaganda. As Anna puts it half admiringly, 'craftily (*πανουργως*) methinks did he handle the question of the war against the Christians', for when once he had convinced the Pope, 'a man apparently reasonable', of Alexius' iniquities

¹ XII. 1.

in this direction it was easy to win over 'boorish and ignorant men'. The army which he collected was so large and heterogeneous, Franks, Celts, English, Germans, Spaniards, that the very report of it threw the Greek admiral into a panic. Even the famous sea-captain Lantulph 'turned aside' and allowed the Norman fleet, convoyed like a moving city by a ring of huge merchantmen, to cross unmolested and to disembark its forces. After plundering far and wide Bohemund settles down like a greater Demetrius Poliorcetes to besiege Durazzo scientifically.¹ His ingenuity and determination receive full credit from Anna throughout her story of the siege; only at the beginning does she condemn his 'tyrannical mind' and his ambition that ignored even monitions from on high.²

In the episode of Alexius' attempt to sow dissension between Bohemund and his counts by bogus letters, we feel that the Norman comes out better than the Greek. Alexius, so says his daughter, thought Bohemund too 'full of knavery and energy' (*πονηρία καὶ δραστηριότης*) to make open fighting advisable, so he resorts to this trick, hoping that rage would make his enemy 'revert to his barbaric customs' of savage vengeance against the incriminated chiefs. But instead of this Bohemund reflects for six days, and then either from sharp-sighted perception of the truth or from a realization of what is expedient decides on ignoring the matter and leaving the counts unmolested.³

Once more as regards the two great antagonists it is a case of 'Greek meeting Greek', or in Anna's proverb 'Cretizing to a Cretan'.⁴ It is probably respect for his wits quite as much as for his courage that makes her call Bohemund⁵ 'most warlike', and 'most like a tyrant', one who when disaster befell him 'was in no wise cast down, but rather seemed more confident' (*θαρραλέωτερος*). When he is finally driven by hunger and disease to sue for peace, his negotiations with the imperial envoys are so described as to bring out what Anna probably considers his two main characteristics, arrogance and the caution which springs from a crafty nature. He insists on hostages and oaths and safe-conducts with wearisome iteration; he is careful not to let the envoys spy out the nakedness of the land; he insolently refuses to hear any reproaches over the past, and he claims, with a haughtiness that 'takes ill' and is affronted at any opposition, an honourable reception by the Emperor as though almost

¹ XII. 8 and 9.

² XIII. 2 and 3.

³ XIII. 4.

⁴ X. 11, p. 304.

⁵ XIII. 6, pp. 393, 394, *τυραννικώτατος*. For the various shades of meaning, partly of blame, partly of praise, attached to this word, see pp. 286-7 above.

on equal terms.¹ The envoys contest the minor points but yield on all the larger, and both sides swear on the Gospels.²

In the following chapter³ Bohemund's sudden submissiveness to the envoys, even in the matter of a place whither to transfer his camp, calls forth from Anna a diatribe on the Celtic race, unstable and unaccountable, now boasting, now servile. But when he finally reaches the Emperor, the historian evidently thinks the time has come for a detailed picture of her villain-hero. We give it in full:

'Now this man, to put it shortly, was such that no one has been seen like him, neither barbarian nor Hellene, for when seen he was a marvel to the eyes, and when named he was a terror. And to describe the barbarian's appearance in detail, he was so great in the height of his body as to exceed the tallest man by nearly a cubit, small of abdomen, but broad in his flanks and shoulders, expansive of chest and powerful in his arms. As to the whole condition of his body he was neither denuded of nor burdened with flesh, but perfectly proportioned and so to speak formed according to the canon of Polyclitus.⁴ He was strong in his hands, steady in the tread of his feet, solid in his neck and back, and he appeared to any one keenly interested in him somewhat round-backed, not because the spinal vertebrae of the back had suffered any injury, but he was formed so it seemed somewhat like this from birth. His skin in all the rest of his body was very white, but his face was ruddy with the white. And his hair was yellowish, but did not hang down to the middle of his back like that of other barbarians, for the man had no passion for long hair, but was cropped to his ears. As to his beard I cannot say whether it was red or some other colour, for the razor went over it till the chin was smoother than any chalk; yet it appeared to be red too. His eyes were blue, and displayed at the same time spirit and dignity, and his nose and nostrils breathed the air freely.'

Then follows an obscure sentence (with one lacuna and one possible misreading) to the effect that his broad nostrils corresponded to his broad chest. She continues:

'For nature had given him passages through his nose for the breath that surged up from his heart. Now in this man something sweet appeared, but was impaired by alarming qualities on all sides. For as a whole throughout all his body the man was harsh and brutal both in size and looks, as it seems to me, and his laugh would have been a snorting in others. In soul and body he was such that both

¹ This is in spite of the fact that he describes himself as going to the Emperor *χάριν οἰκονομίας καὶ θεραπείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν* (XIII. 9, p. 401).

² XIII. 9.

³ XIII. 10.

⁴ We may note that Alexius and Irene, in their daughter's eyes, even excelled this Canon (III. 3, p. 76).

anger and love raised their heads in him, and both looked towards war. His intellect was resourceful and crafty¹ and could elude all attack. For his speech was precise and he gave answers affording no handle anywhere, and being such as he was and so great he was inferior only to the Emperor, both in position and eloquence and in the other gifts that come from nature.'

The treaty between the Greeks and Normans fills all the last chapter of Book XIII, and in its purely conventional language tells us nothing further as to what Anna thought of Bohemund. And when she mentions his death six months later she makes no comment whatever.² But indeed, having once depicted him in full, as 'inferior only to the Emperor', what more could she find worth saying about him?

We however who are not Alexius' daughter may well spend a few moments on the treaty accepted by Bohemund with such reluctance³ and enunciated by Anna with such pride. For one thing it closes an episode about which H. Hagenmeyer wrote in 1913:⁴ 'Eine eingehende kritische Behandlung des Feldzuges Boemunds gegen Alexios . . . steht noch aus; es wäre ein dankbares Thema für eine Monographie, in der auch das . . . längere Gedicht des gleichzeitigen Tortarius seine Würdigung und Verwendung finden müsste,' referring to the unpublished poem of Radulphus Tortarius,⁵ *De obsidione Dyrrachii*.

As portrayed by Anna the campaign is somewhat lacking in interest, all but the chapter devoted to Bohemund's ingenious though unsuccessful siegecraft.⁶ But the treaty evidently seemed to her of the highest importance, and occupies what appears to us a disproportionately large share of her pages.⁷ We must however admit that it is extremely lucid for all its repetitions, grandiloquence, and diplomatic tall talk. Bohemund begins by laying down the usual maxim of International Law, that war vitiates all contracts. Therefore former agreements between him and the Emperor do not hold, nor must he be reproached for the past. He is now wiser, and will make 'this second agreement', becoming if permitted the vassal⁸ of Alexius and his son John. This he swears by God and His saints before witnesses, and he will receive a copy of the contract in a Golden Bull signed by the Emperor. His homage (*πίστις*) involves defending

¹ *πανούργον* once more.

² XIV. 1, p. 419.

³ He is finally induced to sign by the persuasive Nicephorus Bryennius Caesar (XIII. 11). Zonaras (XVIII. 25) says it all took place 'near Colonea Europea'.

⁴ In his edition of Foucher de Chartres, p. 518, note 1.

⁵ A manuscript in the Vatican, Reg. Christ. 1357, ff. 124-32.

⁶ XIII. 3.

⁷ XIII. 12, pp. 406-16.

⁸ Five words are used for this: *λίλιος*, *ἄνθρωπος*, *οἰκέτης*, *ὑποχέριος*, and *δοῦλος*. One of the verbs employed is *θεραπεύειν*.

the Empire with his troops against Christians and Pagans, unless impeded by illness or private war, in which case he will send some general in his stead. The promise, which is to be held 'pure and uncorrupted' all his life, is given in return for various specified lands and cities. Not only the joint Emperors' lives but their honour and their 'imperial limbs' and their possessions must be defended, and Bohemund will never seize or hold any part of the Byzantine territory except what is specifically given him. In lands once under the sway of Constantinople, any conquests made by Bohemund shall either be surrendered to an imperial delegate or administered for the Emperor at his pleasure. No treaty harmful to the Empire shall be made by Bohemund with 'any other Christian'; and he will not 'become the man of another', on the same ground brought forward by Tancred when refusing to swear to Alexius,¹ i.e. that one 'lordship' is enough for one man to serve. No deserters from Alexius' sway shall be received, and barbarian enemies who make their submission to Bohemund shall at once swear fealty through him as proxy. Even lands that 'have never served the Greek empire' are to be considered as part of it ('whether Turks or Armenians . . . Pagans or Christians'), and their inhabitants as the 'men' of the joint emperors, not to be supported in any insubordination; Tancred is to surrender, on pain of war with his uncle, the cities which he holds. The commandants of the towns assigned to Bohemund are to become 'sureties for these agreements', by swearing similar fealty and taking most solemn oaths to abjure Bohemund's service, if 'downright madness and frenzy' should make him forsworn. They too must defend the sovereign when necessary, taking 'dreadful oaths'² of loyalty like their superior. These oaths shall be administered at once to the Normans who are with Bohemund, and if Alexius will send representatives out to Syria the forces there shall swear too.³ So in the same way can an oath be taken in Lombardy from all who wish later to cross the Adriatic. Bohemund will be on warlike or peaceful terms with his Eastern neighbours as his suzerain pleases; he will regard Turkish deserters as belonging to the Emperor, and will only retain captives when taken in war by his own 'pain and fatigues'.

Then follows the really vital part. Bohemund is to keep the dukedom of Antioch for life⁴ if he remains loyal, but the Patri-

¹ XI. 3, p. 316.

² *φρικαλέοι ὅρκοι* (XIII. 12, pp. 410, 411).

³ The idea of proxy comes more than once into this treaty.

⁴ Certain towns are excepted, and certain others elsewhere are given in exchange.

arch there must always be a Greek priest from St. Sophia, and Laodicea is specially retained for the Empire. If the writer of the *Gesta*¹ is right in saying that as early as 1097 Alexius promised Bohemund, 'si libenter ei iuraret, XV dies eundi terre in extensione ab Antiochia retro daret et VIII in latitudine', all we can say is that the execution was long delayed, *de iure* if not *de facto*. At any rate Anna herself admits² that in the greatest issue of all Bohemund came off victor. He was to keep Antioch, and the fact that he could not bequeath it like Edessa³ was a minor consideration, as was also the Emperor's retention of the hotly contested Laodicea.

The pact concludes with every kind of solemn asseveration of good faith, and every form of oath then held most sacred, sworn on the holiest objects of reverence visible and invisible,⁴ before a host of witnesses whose names and offices are given with the utmost minuteness. Nothing has been omitted that could impress and awe the reader. 'God and men and the most high angels' attest the solemnity of the transaction;⁵ bishops and monks, knights and foreign ambassadors, a notary and a eunuch of *nobilissimus* rank, all sign as witnesses, while the unlettered 'leaders of the pilgrims'⁶ make their mark. Never surely was any covenant more solemnly signed, sealed and delivered. As to its subsequent fate (for it was never kept) no blame can be attached to Bohemund, who went home after receiving the usual 'sufficient money' and died⁷ in a short time. And we can readily understand how Tancred, refusing to be bound by his uncle's treaty, 'clung to Antioch and considered it altogether as belonging to him'.⁸ But on the other hand we feel it natural that the oath-breaking of 'these barbarian Franks', on whom according to Anna he had lavished care and

¹ Ch. 6.

² Chalandon curiously sees in the whole treaty 'le triomphe définitif d'Alexis sur Bohémond' (p. 249) because of the limitations put on the boundaries of the dukedom of Antioch. This is not our reading of the text. Probably each party tried to consider itself the winner.

³ With Edessa Bohemund was to receive an annual subsidy (twice emphasized) of 200 gold 'talents' with the effigy of Michael VII (Ducas). See Du Cange's note on XIII. 12, p. 414 c. Bohemund undertakes to send an envoy for this to Constantinople yearly.

⁴ The sufferings of Christ, the Cross, the Gospels, the Crown of Thorns, the Nails and the Lance.

⁵ XIII. 12, p. 411.

⁶ It is interesting to find the *πεπεργμένοι* petitioning Alexius about lands, as though admittedly his vassals (XIII. 12, p. 414). In Foucher's account of the treaty (II. 39, 2) Alexius swears to protect the pilgrims by land and sea, 'ne quis eorum diriperetur vel male tractaretur'.

⁷ XIV. 1, p. 419. Anna says in six months, but Chalandon on the authority of the Latin chroniclers gives an interval of three years, and believes the date of his death to be 1111 (*op. cit.* p. 249, note 6).

⁸ XIV. 2, p. 422.

money, should have 'rent in sunder the soul of the Emperor'.¹ First he tried reproaching Tancred with 'injustice and violation of oaths', as well as with 'ingratitude towards the Greeks', but the 'mad barbarian cursed of God' refused in insulting and boastful terms even to listen.² So by the advice of the Senate and army Alexius resolves to try to gain allies against Tancred among the other Crusaders. Bertrand the son of St. Gilles swears fealty, but Baldwin king of Jerusalem (then in process of besieging Tyre) meets the falsehood of the Greek envoys with double dealing of his own.³ Neither he nor Tancred comes into the story again, and when Tancred died in 1112 all idea of the treaty's ever being executed was finally abandoned.

Such then is Anna's version of the relations between her father and the Crusaders, of whom Bohemund was to her the chief. On three points it differs materially from that of the Latin chroniclers, two comparatively trivial (whether St. Gilles took the oath and whether the relic found at Antioch was a Lance or a Nail), but one vitally important, affecting our whole conception of her father. Which broke faith first, Alexius or the Crusaders? Was Alexius or Bohemund the greater knave? Even from his daughter's own story we are inclined to give at least the chronological precedence in duplicity to the Emperor, and to believe that from the very first he was trying to circumvent his detested allies, till he finally deserted them in their dire

¹ XIV. 2, pp. 423, 428.

² Alexius tries to set St. Gilles' son against Tancred by this accusation (XIV. 2, p. 425). Insolence is Tancred's chief characteristic. He is the last to take the oath of homage and brawls in the Emperor's presence (XI. 3, pp. 316, 317). He is the first openly to 'break the oath' by wresting Laodicea from an imperial general (XI. 7, p. 330), and he acts all along as Bohemund's *âme damnée*. But with her strange fair-mindedness Anna depicts him as a devoted and obedient nephew while Bohemund is alive (XI. 3, p. 316; 7, p. 330; in XII. 1, p. 346, he even lets his uncle choose a wife for him, and in XIII. 11, p. 405; 12, p. 410, it is assumed he will do Bohemund's bidding); a brave and energetic soldier (XI. 5, p. 320; XII. 2, p. 348), *στρατιωτῆς φερεπονώτατος*, and a never defeated master of siegecraft (XII. 2, p. 349), as well as *ῥωμαλέωτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτόν*, famed for strategic experience, a true 'thunderbolt-bearer' (*ibid.*). His mother as guardian of Otranto is brave and resourceful, and outwits the Greek admiral who attacks the town (XII. 8). One curious touch is that Anna professes ignorance as to whether she or her husband was related to Bohemund by blood (*ibid.* p. 366). Similarly it is strange to find her calling Roger the *πρωτότοκος* son of Robert (V. 3, p. 131), when in reality Bohemund was the eldest, the only son of the first wife Alberada, as we learn from Malaterra, I. 30 (Muratori, *op. cit.* V. p. 557).

³ XIV. 2. Baldwin does not come well out of this story. He is taken in by the Tyrians and fails from indolence and over-confidence to capture Tyre, and though he saw through a falsehood of Butumites' and 'reproved him bitterly as a liar', he yet fatuously hoped to get money from the imperial envoys and use it against Alexius to help Tancred. Butumites insisted on service before payment and Baldwin sent him away. He is indeed changed for the worse from the reasonable and brave count of X. 10, p. 300; XI. 7.

need at Antioch. But in fairness we must remember that the Crusaders (and especially the gigantic, cunning, unscrupulous, and overbearing Bohemund) seemed to him quite as much savages as Red Indians did to the early American settlers. If he used fraud and not force to get the better of them, it may have been necessity rather than preference that dictated his actions, because, in Anna's familiar phrase, 'not having sufficient forces against such numbers *ἐν ἀμυχανία καθίστατο*',¹ a frame of mind not heroic but very human.

¹ VII. 6, p. 203, and often elsewhere.

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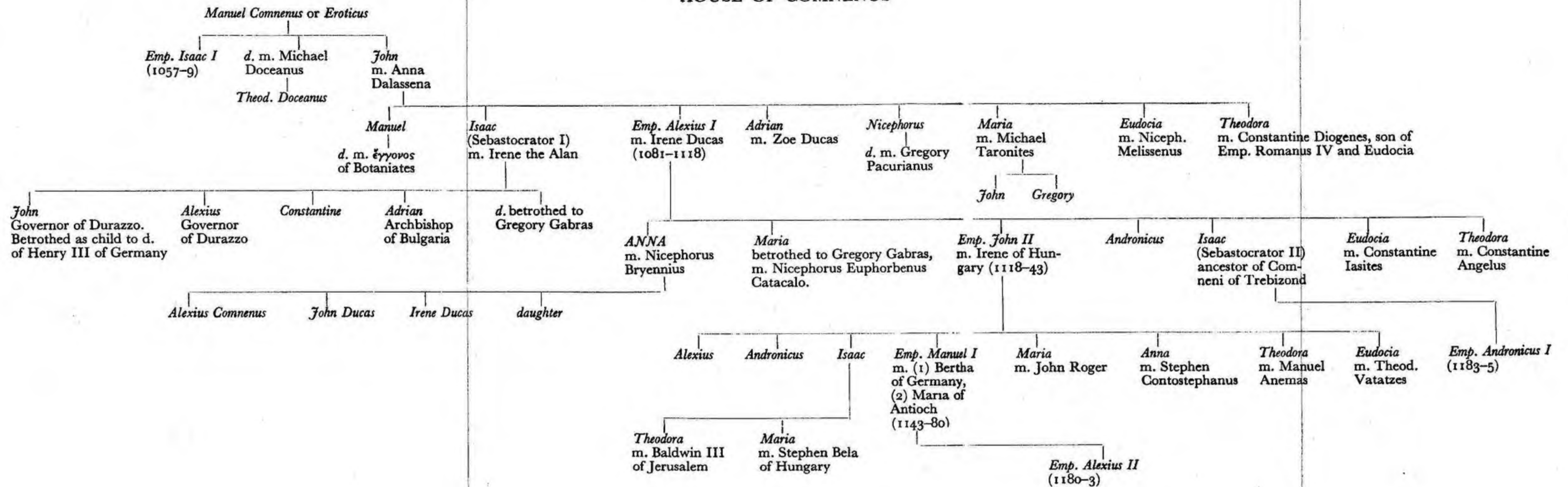
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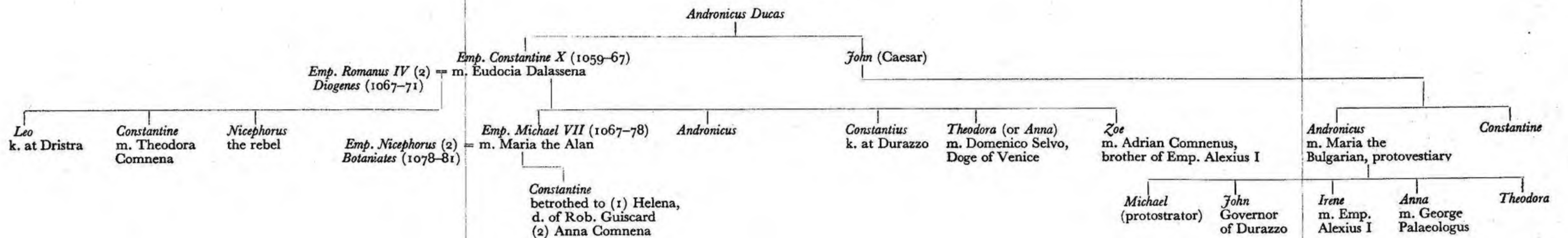
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NOTE: In citations from the *Alexias*, the Roman numerals denote the Book, the Arabic the chapter (as in *C. S. H. B.*, and in Reifferscheid's edition), while 'p.' refers to the page of the original Paris edition of 1651.

HOUSE OF COMNENUS



HOUSE OF DUCAS



See also: [Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic chrétien](#) (Arménie - Géorgie - Albanie), by Cyril/Cyrille Toumanoff (Rome, 1976), at Internet Archive.